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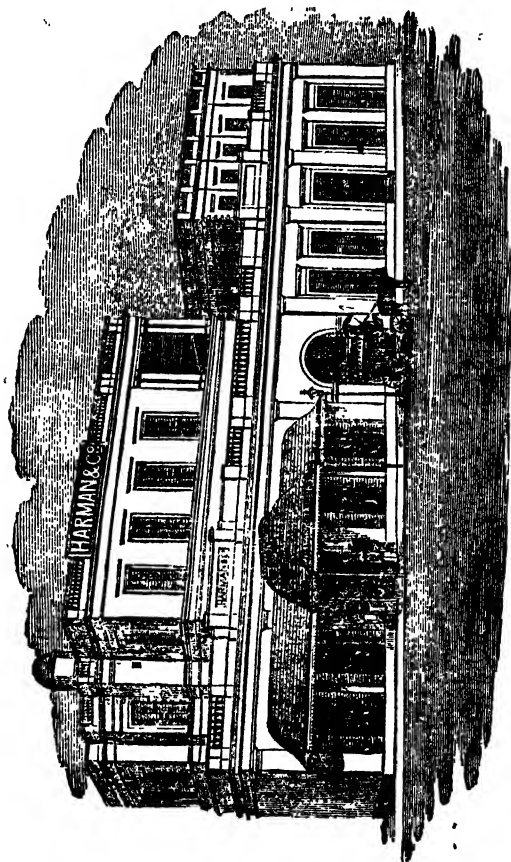
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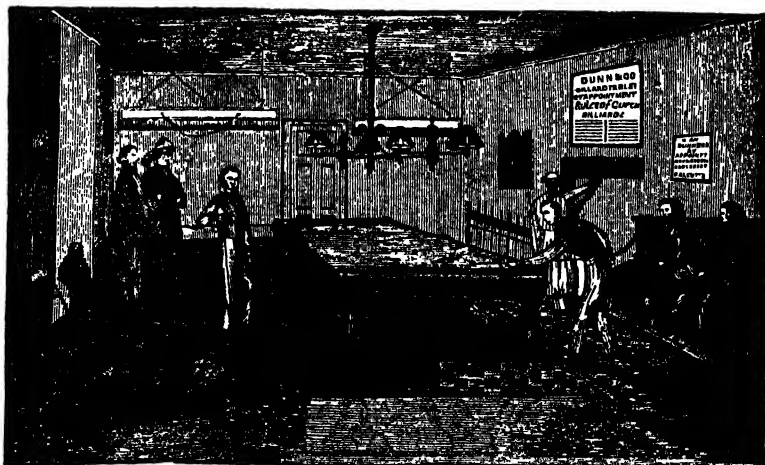
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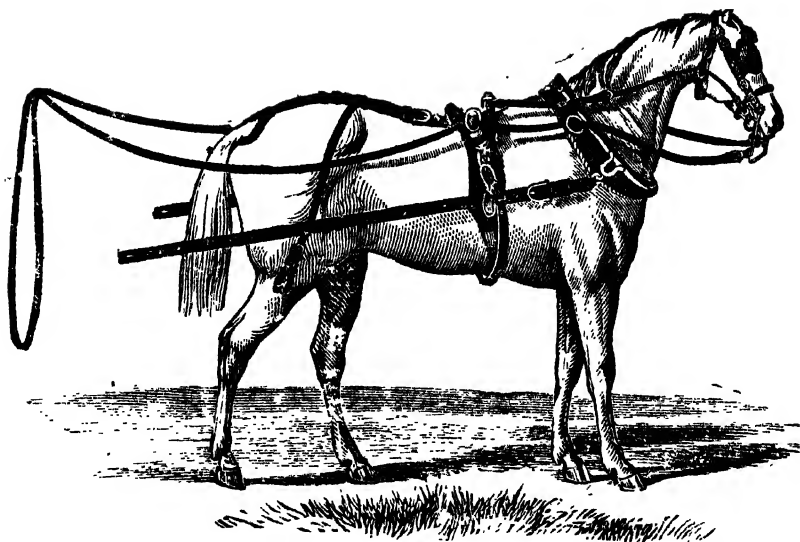
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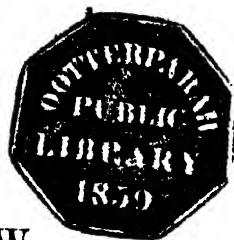
No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—
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Nº CIII.

ART. I.—INDIA AND THE WAR.

S*ic vis pacem, para bellum.* Now that wars are short, sharp, and decisive, this maxim acquires new force. The generation which saw Austria struck down in six weeks, and the main army of France swept off as prisoners of war, or cooped up without hope of escape in just one month after the opening of hostilities, is not likely to pardon any manifest unreadiness for war. Austria has sedulously devoted herself, since Sadowa, to the task of reorganizing and re-arming her forces. Russia only the other day established, by an imperial *ukase*, the Prussian system of enlistment throughout the dominions of the Czar. France will come out of the contest robbed of many illusions, and bent on the performance of the national duty of remodelling her military forces. Her national pride, her traditions, her genius, have all been outraged by a series of disasters unexampled in the history of war, whether we regard their individual proportions, or the swiftness with which they have followed each other. England, too, has been driven to admit that her insularity can no longer justify her in neglecting to turn the martial spirit of her people to proper account for the maintenance of her position amongst the nations. The war found her, had her interests demanded her co-operation with France, in a position to take the field with barely 60,000 men and 180 guns. And even this force could not have been moved so speedily as the 400,000 men with which Prussia invaded France, twenty days after the announcement of M. Ollivier to the French Chambers that war had been declared. To inferiority of numbers would have been added the inefficiency of the English military system, when judged by the requirements of the day. The spectacle afforded by the collapse of a military organization regarded as an exemplar by English officers, and which professed to have modified tactics to suit the altered circumstances of battle-fields on which the newest arms of precision would be used, had its natural effect on the people and government of England. The press, never

slow to appreciate the necessity for change in the direction of improvement, opened its columns to an earnest criticism of the national forces. The Government, too, awoke to a sudden conviction that though no branch of the administration afforded such facilities for effecting a saving as the departments subordinate to the War Office, those facilities had been perhaps somewhat rashly availed of. No doubt the fact of England's insularity would give her a certain time for preparation, but it might not improbably happen that her preparations would be completed too late, especially if she were engaged in joint hostilities with a continental power. Mr. Cardwell therefore on behalf of the Government of which he is a member, has promised to bring forward a scheme which shall render it possible for England to utilize the strength of the 400,000 men, regulars, militia, reserves and volunteers, she has under arms; not as a composite mass of varying efficiency, but as a single organism, the component parts of which shall be of nearly equal value to a general. To accomplish such an end, however, it is admitted that the present system of recruitment must give place to a method of filling the ranks which shall give the nation a more complete command of the services of its citizens. But any change in the system of recruitment involves a radical alteration of the terms of service, and though Count Von Molke may declare that the period of service under the flag ought to be long enough to make the soldierly knack of sticking together under the most adverse circumstances the habit of the men's lives, still in a manufacturing country like England, where the demand on time is so urgent, it is not improbable that the period of service in the first line will be cut down to the shortest possible length.

Whatever affects the military system of England is of vital importance to India. If the time of service of the English soldier be reduced to three years, India must either largely reduce the strength of her garrison, to enable her to meet the additional transport charge consequent on more frequent reliefs, return to a local army, or, which is almost the same thing, the Indian garrison must be kept up by men volunteering for ten years' continuous service, to be followed by a direct transfer to what a German would call the *Landsturm*. The necessity of England calls for a national army in the Prussian sense; the necessity of India calls for soldiers engaged for long service, and is therefore opposed to the requirements of the mother-country.

Ever since Stein and Scharnhorst organized Prussia against the domination of France under Napoleon I, the idea of a national force representing the manhood of a country has been growing up in the different states of Europe. Napoleon III, by the law of February 1868, sought to introduce a modification of this system into France; the new French system could not, however, have come

into full and complete working until 1876. This should be borne in mind when it is blamed for the French defeats. The Emperor's attempt was a direct result of the Bohemian campaign of 1866. Ever since the opening battles of the present war demonstrated to Europe the massive yet mobile character of the German armies, both cabinets and peoples have been engaged in the endeavour to discover and adopt modifications of the Prussian system, suitable to the peculiar social organization of the individual members of the European family. England, with the theory of her militia to guide her, and with the encouragement afforded her by the martial spirit of her volunteers, will not be long in finding her own way out of the difficulty,—a difficulty represented by one authority as the formation and equipment of an active field army of five *corps* of 20,000 men each, supported by a force of artillery variously estimated at from 300 to 500 guns. But, although the conditions of modern warfare seem to demand reserves which can only be furnished by the resort to what is called a national army, the force in India must, it would seem, still remain a standing army. Of course it is easy to see that any system which increases the military reserves of England must indirectly strengthen her hold on India. The British contingent in this country must ever be a mercenary force, wrapped in its own traditions, and occupying the position of a military caste among the people amidst which it performs its service. There can never be any *rapproch* between it and the natives, never any relaxation of its service. As it is always on duty, always under arms, always liable to be called into the field at scanty notice, it must be regarded as, in a special sense, a standing army. In fact, it seems likely to be the last force to which such a description will purely apply. The war which compels England to keep up the strength of the battalions in India by volunteers, or men enlisted specially for a certain term of long service in a particular dependency, compels her to engraft on the national system another system opposed to its regular development, and will compel her to acknowledge that soldiers in India are not available generally for imperial quarrels, and are consequently a local European army for India. This will not be readily admitted; but this is what the change, now inevitable in the constitution of the British forces, will amount to so far as India is concerned.

But if the European force is mercenary, the native army is no less so. In its ranks the Pathan adventurer from the frontier fights side by side with the Sikh and the Hindustani. The regiments of the line have no local colouring, no tribal, or national characteristics. There are supplementary corps where a show of such distinctions is made, but in these corps the distinctions themselves serve the general purpose of separating the men composing the corps as a military class from the mass of the people,

The soldier again of the Bombay army, whose home is on the banks of the Goomtee, is as much a mercenary as the Sikh or Pathan in a Bengal regiment serving in any of the Gangetic provinces, or the private of the British battalions who has undertaken to follow the drum for a period of ten years over the plains of India. The plan of a national force is not applicable to India. England does not desire to utilize the military resources of India to the utmost; there are no territories beyond the frontier to tempt her to undertake new conquests. She is content to limit her demands to her bare necessities, and to keep down the blood-tax to the lowest possible point, one in 1,166 of the population. There is policy in this in a country where the use of arms might prove a source of trouble and danger. There is, too, a danger. The administration is apt to proceed to an extreme view, and to model its military resources on its purely Indian requirements. Sir William Mansfield, indeed, hints that this has been done to an extent which cannot be carried further without positive risk. Then, again, the more the administration regards the army from a purely Indian point of view, the greater and more overwhelming is the pressure put upon the heads of the army to confine the organization of the force to the narrow exigencies of garrison duty in a country disarmed and without chiefs,—those exigencies being slightly modified by the chance of an occasional fight with the brave but unorganized (*disorganized* would not be too strong a word) tribes of the frontier.

In fact, the more it became apparent that the administration regarded the army as a sort of *élite* military police, the greater became the tendency to yield to the cry in favor of Irregularism. What seemed to answer so well in Algeria, what had answered so well in the hands of individual officers in India—seemed a safe organization for the new native army, the creation of which was forced on India by the mutinies. The vaunted prowess of the Zouaves in the Crimea in 1854-56, and again in Italy in 1859, elevated them to the rank of a *corps d'élite*, and gave a new impulse to the change which was coming over French tactics,—a change confirmed by the ranges and rapid shooting of the new infantry weapons. India thought she could not do better than abandon her old organization. The new army was, therefore, organized as an Irregular force. Irregularism has now gone down in France before the Mobile Regularism of Prussia. In this latter system, celerity of movement has been added to a steadiness which even English Guardsmen may envy. Prussian soldiers have been drilled into a habit of keeping their ranks until they have become the most tenacious fighters in Europe; their generals charge indifferently in line, in mass, or in company columns, as circumstances may demand, but whilst they can rely on their men for work of this sort, they know that

as skirmishers the soldiers can be trusted to advance swiftly, to take every advantage of the ground, and to rally with celerity and coolness. They have added mobility to steadiness, and made skirmishing a special training for men who could already march like a wall. Yet they have not wholly abandoned the use of light infantry, since to every *corps* there is attached a special Jager battalion, the men of which are all crack shots; these Jager battalions form a body of light troops of which any army might be proud. The French sought to make mobility take the place of cohesion. The Prussians, on the other hand, saw in the necessity for greater mobility only a greater necessity for training their men to hang together. The French trusted to the fierceness of an attack; the Prussians, to its weight and persistency. All through the war, as soon as the Prussian battle was developed, the French army crumbled before their masses, and the soldiers of Algeria were beaten in spite of good positions and a better infantry weapon. The result has effectually disposed of the theory that with the new weapons battles would become merely huge skirmishes. It has done more; for it has discredited that Irregularism towards which the French tended, and which has been adopted in India. Frenchmen, indeed, have already gone so far as to say that Algeria, their boasted school of warfare, has unfitted them for a European contest. There is, however, in the English mind a predisposition to steadiness, which has disinclined us to yield to the innovations of the French, and which in India has striven to invest the new native army with the reputation enjoyed by the forces of the Company for a knowledge of drill. Solidity and steadiness on parade is still zealously sought after. Regiments still march past in grand divisions with arms sloped to rule, with a stately step and slow, and with an attempt to preserve the traditional "wall-like" appearance supposed to be as distinctive of English soldiers as the colour of their tunics.

The army has clung with desperate tenacity to its old parade form. The Irregularism is chiefly seen in its organization, the object of which seems to be the reduction of English leadership to a minimum. One principal effect of this tendency has been to saddle the army vote with an enormous non-efficient charge,—an effect complicated by the conversion of almost the whole body of officers into a Staff Corps, in which promotion is inevitable in a given time; and by the breaking up of the bonus system, which afforded the only inducement to officers to retire. The result is the accumulation on the non-active list, of soldiers whose very rank and luck in promotion are the bar to their employment. To compel officers to remain in a service which is unable to provide them with employment, is to repeat on a larger and more costly scale in India that evil of an expensive non-effective list, which is a principal blot of

the British army organization. There must be a pleasure in the mere fact of disbursing large sums for salaries, or the Government of India would not insist in retaining officers to do nothing.

The natural tendency of all military systems is to crystallize. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as war is one of the most progressive of the sciences. Unfortunately, every fresh step in its advance is the result of some new convulsion. A period of peace does but strengthen and intensify the tendency to rest satisfied with the present, and the disposition to resent change as involving an inevitable departure from proved excellence. The more the army is separated from the mass of the people, the further is it removed from those influences which compel revision and improvement in national armies. England is a marked illustration of this position. In spite of the never-ceasing demands upon the English army, in spite of its victories and its glory, the national jealousy of it as an institution has never relaxed, never ceased to approve of reductions in its strength, and never forgotten that it might be a weapon dangerous to the popular liberty. Military reformers have had to meet with a two-fold resistance to their suggestions: that which proceeded from within the army itself—the innate resistance of the system to change in any form; and that which proceeded from outside—the unreasonable dislike of the people to developing a new strength in a machine which their fathers had pronounced the most formidable in Europe. They were satisfied with the declaration of Napoleon I., re-echoed by Marshal Bugeaud and General Trochu, that the British infantry is the most redoubtable in the world, and were not prepared to grumble at there being so little of it. England was taught to rely on her vast resources—her immense capacity as the first of manufacturing nations—for turning out at need any required quantity of arms and equipments. She was for ever being told that when other nations, even France, began to evince signs of exhaustion, she was only beginning to feel used to her armour—was only getting into her stride; and although it was admitted, she invariably commenced a war badly, it was added, she just as invariably, if time were given her, came out of the fight well. Now, she is obliged to admit that time is not likely to be given; that she must trust more to her arsenals and less to her manufacturers; more to her trained soldiers, and less to the native valour of her recruits. She is obliged to admit, in fact, that she can henceforth only indulge in a weak active army in consideration of her keeping up large reserves of men capable of discharging all a soldier's duty in a soldierly way. Her active army must be a perfect organization: it must be a model and a school. It must be capable of expansion without danger to its efficiency, and of contraction without the risk of sacrificing its power of expansion.

Men seldom suspect a flaw in a sword until it breaks. A

standing army once formed is rarely re-constructed, unless under the pressure of misfortune. Yet, just as a standing army must be supposed to represent the available armed strength of a nation, it ought to keep place with the general advance of the people it protects. It is no true representative of the national strength, unless it turn to account the latest product of the national intelligence, and the latest experience of the systems against which it may have to defend the national honour or liberty. In India the evils of a standing army must always exist in an exaggerated form. For many generations it must be the only form of military force the Government will be capable of organizing. The police force might be regarded as a reserve, but, guided by exclusively Indian considerations, the armed contingent of this force has been reduced to a fraction worthless for general purposes. But it so happens that year by year the possible fields of warfare on which the Anglo-Indian army may be called upon to contend, are multiplied; they already include China, Persia and the Arabian and Persian coasts,—fields where, as on the borders of the empire, it is only likely to be called upon to meet a barbarous or ill-organized enemy. But suggestions have been put forward in influential quarters which would largely extend the area of its operations. The discussion as to whether Indian soldiers should not be used in New Zealand, though fruitless, is indicative of the tendency of English statesmen to regard the Indian army as an integral part of the imperial strength, to be used freely wherever it can be used with comparative ease and with good effect. Even, however, if it be asserted that sepoy will never be sent to the colonies, they are none the less likely to be called on to meet a European, or a highly organized enemy. Were it ever again necessary to defend Egypt, an Indian contingent might have to encounter Turcos and Zouaves, or highly-trained European troops; or if it should be desirable to coerce the Khedive into a proper regard for the interests of his sovereign, an Indian contingent would then have to meet a native African force organized on a French model and of admitted merit. Of the contingency of a war with Russia, it is only sufficient to say that it could scarcely be waged by England without adding to the experience of war gained by the Indian army. A quarrel with France would probably lead to an expedition from India against Saigon, whilst a dispute with Russia might result in the organization of an attack on the Amoor settlements, a stirring up of strife in Central Asia, or a material support to Persia or the Turkish power in Armenia. One thing is clear. The successive expeditions to Persia, China, Egypt and Abyssinia, have convinced English statesmen of the value of the Indian army. If it be admitted that Britain is bound to protect India at all hazards, it must also be admitted that India is bound to repay the obligation, and, to

use her resources to protect such Imperial interests as fall within the legitimate sphere of her influence.*

It comes then to this: that while the Indian army is being constantly fined down to purely Indian requirements, the march of events is gradually but surely extending the possible field of its warfare. Its efficiency is, therefore, a question of imperial interest, and no longer a matter of its relative superiority to the levy of an Afghan tribe, or the shadow of itself in the hands of a native chief. Sir William Mansfield, on his retirement from office, attempted to excuse the ugly fact that the army—an army without reserves—had been reduced to a point which could not be passed without danger, by declaring his belief that it was in the highest degree of efficiency. Yet it is notorious in Bengal that more than two-thirds of the British infantry are still armed with muzzle-loading weapons, and that even these are for the most part either converted muskets or old rifles. The possession of these arms renders the troops armed with them inefficient; that such arms should yet be borne by English soldiers on service—for the soldier in India is always on service—is simply another instance of the inability of a military administration to believe in the necessity for reforms.

But it betrays much more than the Philistinism of a particular branch of the Indian service. It proves that, in addition to all the other evils under which it labours, the Indian army is, in a special degree, dependent on England. Arsenal like those at Fort William, Allahabad and Ferozepore, are of little value if they are to be mere depôts of arms, belonging to patterns which modern contests have rendered obsolete. Only within the past few months has a decision been come to, to arm a dozen native infantry regiments with the Enfield rifle. There is no need to discuss a question which events have already decided. If the Chinese and Japanese have accepted the fact that the infantry arm must be a breech-loading rifle, it is worse than folly for India to cling to smooth-bores and Enfields. The Abyssinian expedition showed, among other things, that, if native troops are to be called on to operate beyond the bounds of India,

"Looking to the many questions raised in reference to the political importance of Egypt and the Red Sea, and looking to the state of affairs in Europe, every day becoming more seriously complicated, it would be impossible that a prudent Government, charged with the preservation of interests, both public and private, so enormous as are involved in the security of India, could be insensible to the duty of maintaining its mili-

tary defences in an efficient state. For certain it is, if ever we are to have another European war (and how long that may be no one will venture to say), yet, come when it may, it is certain that in the altered state of things, we may expect operations in India and against India to form no small element in such a war."—*Speech of the Right Honorable James Wilson in the Legislative Council of India, the 21st April 1860.*

they must be armed with as good a weapon as can be given them. At the battle of the Bahlolo, Lord Napier of Magdala discovered that the "smooth-bore" of the 23rd Punjab Pioneers was "hardly equal to the double-barrelled percussion gun of the Abyssinians." Discoveries of that sort may be too dearly bought, more especially if they are left to be made on a field of battle. It might just as well have been argued in 1856 that the native troops should be armed with fowling-pieces, in order to retain the advantage of the musket for the British infantry. The argument of strength will not apply, for the relative proportion has been so reduced as to put any fear of the result of a second prætorian outbreak beyond all question. In 1856 we had only 48,519 Europeans against an army of 275,304 natives; in 1869 the European force had been increased to 61,837 and the natives reduced to 121,021. Moreover in Bengal, the field of the rebellion, the proportion is not even as one to two, for there are 36,795 Europeans against 46,276 natives. If the Franco-German war and its consequent disturbance of the political atmosphere, cause the Indian authorities to throw antiquated semi-political considerations to the winds, and to recognize the plain duty of making the Indian army a model for efficiency, the public will see the native army furnished with breech-loaders.

This war has shown that an army which is not ready to move into the field at sudden and short notice, is likely to find itself in a worse position than that of the Hanoverians in 1866. The advance of the Prussians cut them off from their points of concentration and from their dépôts. The result of the consequent inability to move with celerity was a capitulation in spite of a successful encounter with the enemy. But in India no one will pretend to say the efforts of France and Prussia in July last could be repeated or rivalled. M. Ollivier made his fatal declaration to the French Chambers on the 15th July. Yet on the 22nd, the first line had begun to assume an imposing appearance along the frontier. MacMahon was at Strasbourg, De Failly at Bitsch, Frossard at St. Avold, Bazaine at Metz, L'Admirault at Thionville, Canrobert at Nancy, and the Guards under Bourbaki were leaving Paris. The declaration of war despatched by special messenger from Paris on the evening of the 17th, did not reach Berlin till the 19th; on the 24th the German army was not only mobilized, but being conveyed to the Rhine; on the 28th the whole twelve *corps* of the North German Confederation, except the 4th and 6th, were in march to the frontier. Yet, quick as they were, the French had the start of them, and, but for the indecision of their leaders, might have carried the war far into Rhenish Prussia and the Bavarian Pfalz. In twenty days after it was announced that there must be war, the armies had come into decisive contact, the Prussians having moved two and a quarter times as many, and the French one and

three-quarter times as many men as the whole combined force of India. What has been done in India? War is made in the good old-fashioned, steady, leisurely way. If England is unprepared, India is more unprepared. If to be in advance of things military at home were treason, India could not keep more devotedly and loyally in the background than she does at present. Recent Indian history is full of instances of her unreadiness. It is necessary to go back in order to show that this unreadiness is characteristic, and that, although the Indian Army has received constant warnings, it has not yet altered the fashion of waiting until war has actually begun, to create departments not absolutely necessary in time of peace. England has not profited by the lessons of the Crimean War; why should India then take to heart the experience of the mutiny?

Sir Sydney Cotton says, that in 1853, on the murder of Colonel Mackeson, it took the Rawul Pindee Force, composed of six companies of Europeans, a wing of a regiment of native infantry, and a regiment of native irregular cavalry, fourteen days to accomplish the 100 miles between Pindee and Peshawar. Four days were consumed in crossing this force over the Indus. Clearly that was not a performance of which any army might be proud.

Persia was threatened by Lord Clarendon on the 11th July 1856; the battle of Khooshab was fought on the 7th February 1857.

When the mutiny broke out, General Anson hurried down to Umballa. On the 16th May, the General wrote to Lord Canning:—

I have been doing my best to *organize the Force here ready for a move*, but tents and carriages are not ready, and they are indispensable. *We are also deficient in ammunition.* I hope we shall be in a state to move shortly, if required. *But we have no heavy guns.* On the 25th May, General Anson did move from Umballa with the following Force:—The 9th Lancers, a squadron of the 4th Hussars, the 1st, 2nd, and 75th Regiments, and two Batteries of Horse Artillery. It had taken nine days to enable the Commander-in-Chief in India to make a force scarcely more than half a Prussian brigade ready for the field. This was under the pressure of a terrible emergency. Well may Kaye remark on so fatal a proof of inefficiency—"As soon as there came a necessity for action, it was found that action was impossible. The Adjutant-General, the Quarter-Master General, the Commissary General, the Chief of the Army Medical Department, each had his own special reason to give why the thing was impossible. No ammunition, no carriages, no hospital stores, no doolies for the sick and wounded. Each head of a department had his own particular protest to fling in the face of a Commander-in-Chief." The result bore out the unheeded warning given by Sir Henry Lawrence in this *Review* in March 1856:—"There is no preparation to meet sudden danger,"—that danger

which he, Edwardes and Napier, had all foreseen, and of which they had forewarned the Government.

But, again, Havelock reached Allahabad on the 30th June 1857 and found Renaud's column of 400 Europeans, 300 Sikhs and 120 Native Irregular Cavalry ready to start. Marshman says :—"The equipment of that column had exhausted all the carriage at the "station." Indeed, so completely was this the case that Havelock could not follow Renaud for a period of seven days.

What would Bismarck, Moltke, and Von Roon think of such a state of things, such grievous unpreparedness for an emergency? What must they think of the army which has allowed such lessons to be wasted?

Our frontier wars all tell the same tale. On the night of the 24th October 1857, a band from Panjtar fell upon Lieutenant Hume in his tent and murdered him. On the 24th April 1858, a force of 4,877 men, under Sir Sydney Cotton, crossed the frontier, opposite Nowshera, to avenge the outrage.

Captain Meham was murdered by the Wuzeeris on the 5th November 1859, and on the 20th December following Brigadier Chamberlain led 3,900 men across the Kuram, at Thull, to punish the offending tribe. The expedition returned to British territory on the 14th January 1860. On the 13th March, another branch of the Wuzeeris, the Mahsoods, threatened Tonk, yet it was not till the 14th April that Brigadier Chamberlain again marched into the hills at the head of a little army of 5,196 men.

In 1862, it was resolved to bring the Hindustanis at Mulka Sittana and their Pathan supporters to their senses; differences on the character of the operations to be undertaken, and on the composition of the force to be employed, between the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, followed by the unfortunate death of Lord Elgin, led to the postponement of the expedition. On the 7th September, the fanatics gave new cause of offence by crossing the border near Topi; yet, in spite of the long warning, it was not till the 20th October that Sir Neville Chamberlain seized the head of the Surkhawi Pass. The result of the Umbeyla campaign which followed, was not such as to induce the belief that the Indian army could go anywhere and do anything.

The Bhootan war again showed divided counsels. It was first decided to send the expedition by water, then partly by land and partly by water, then by water only, and then by land only. These uncertainties cost the Government £15,000. Sir John Lawrence's *ultimatum* is dated the 9th June 1864; the period of grace expired on the 1st September; yet the Bhootan force was not in motion till October, and it was the first week in December before the game opened by the capture of Dalimkote and Dewangiri, at the extremities of the line of operations. Who is proud of the

result of that campaign? It almost argues a deterioration in the fibre of the army, when a cry is raised for a medal to commemorate so disgraceful a passage of arms. A treaty baited with a large subsidy was presented to the Dhurm and Deb Rajas as an *ultimatum* is usually tendered, and yet a second expedition was necessary before the Tongso Penlow surrendered the two guns lost at Dewangiri.

On the 30th July 1868 the Hussunzyes assaulted an outpost in the Agrore valley, and made the Hazara expedition necessary. By the 12th August the gallant Rothney, at the head of his Goorkhas, had cleared the valley of the marauders. Behind his firm front two brigades were formed, and on the 3rd October they began their celebrated march through the fastnesses of the Black Mountain.

The China Expedition of 1860 was like the Abyssinian campaign in the length of its preparations, and both proved that an army which is unable to move a couple of brigades at home in a less period than six weeks, must require months to equip an expedition for war on a foreign theatre of operations. Is the massing of a body of 5,000 men, as at Umballa in 1869, a theme for congratulation, or the assembly of twice that number at Agra, as in 1866, a proof of overwhelming strength?

It may be said that things will be better now that the railways can be placed at the disposal of the Government for the conveyance of troops. The main line of railway in northern India is, however, but a single line for the greater part of its length. The rolling stock of the Company, again, is scattered over a length of 1,000 miles. No army trusts to railways beyond a certain point. Without railways Prussia and France could not have achieved their triumphs of logistics; but when once the Rhine was reached, the Prussian army almost cut itself free from this advantage. The army of the Crown Prince marched, manœuvred, and fought its way from Wissembourg to Sedan between the 4th August and the 1st September; yet, during this interval, it was more engaged in destroying railways than in using them. Had it trusted to railways, had it not contained within itself everything requisite for independent movement, its advance would have stopped at Carlsruhe. Suppose an offensive movement in force were required to be made against the Maharaja of Jodhpore, or that Scindhia's well-drilled division were to "go" as in 1857, the railway in one case would aid the army as far as Delhi, and in the other as far as Agra. Arrived at its base, the Jodhpore or Gwalior field force would have to wait idly in camp until its carriage was collected. The reason is not far to seek. The Prussian army is organized to conquer emergencies; the Indian army to abide them. In Prussia each part of the army is complete in itself; a *corps d'armée* is a perfect organism, and when ordered to take the field, it can do so effectively without reference to the con-

dition of any other *corps*, and without being compelled to depend on railways. It has within itself the means of turning both the railway and the telegraph to account, but it is capable of doing without the former, and yet, if necessary, of progressing for days together at the rate of 20 miles *per diem*. In India an outbreak would find a line of railway stretching over 1,000 or 1,500 miles of country cut in a hundred different places. The Indian army, if need be, must be independent of the railway, and, like the German forces, must be in each individual component part complete in all that an army in the field can require. Before dismissing the subject of the use of railways, it may be useful to note how singularly unprotected are the immense lengths of the Indian lines. Structures like the Soane, Jumna and Kurumnassa bridges are perfectly defenceless. If Allahabad were ever again to be invested, the bridge would have to be sacrificed. Structures like these might each be defended by a *tête du pont*, capable of being armed at the briefest notice.

The present war has restored their importance to fortresses. Strasbourg detained 65,000 Germans, Metz 200,000; Phalsbourg and Toul imperilled their communications. It is true that when masses numbered by hundreds of thousands take the field, a great fortress does not prevent an enemy from overrunning the country in its rear; but it does retard his advance, it does prevent him from turning his successes to their full account, and it not unfrequently deflects him from the true line of his advance. In India, however, the uses of forts seem to have escaped attention. There is scarcely one worth the name. It has been shown that Englishmen can hold more houses against the best efforts of the natives, and hence probably it has been concluded that modern works of strength at strategical points are unnecessary. Such works would be of far more real service to the country than costly barracks in open stations, on sites which are invariably condemned as soon as a sufficient sum of money has been spent on them to render removal impossible. It must strike an intelligent foreign officer with a curious mixture of wonder, surprise and pity, to read in one breath elaborate arguments for affording British troops shelter from an Indian sun, and in the next an account of how these very troops have been compelled, by the bare instinct of self-preservation, to rush from the shelter of the barracks to the dangers of a life in tents with a thermometer above 100°. And he would probably consider it a decisive proof of British inaptitude for organization that the question of sites for cantonments has not long ago been authoritatively and finally settled by a competent Commission of high military and medical officials.

The strength of the Prussian system is the individual complete-

ness at all points of the various component parts of the army. The result of this independent perfection has been repeatedly proved by the sudden way in which new armies have been created as circumstances required. Each new army works with the smoothness of an old organization ; there is no hitch for transport, no faltering for ammunition, no rawness of a new staff unacquainted with the forces they have to handle. The German soldier is not worried with strange duties ; the completeness of his *corps* enables him, as on the morning after the battle of Sedan, to set out in search of new victories, as soon as the fate of one conflict has been determined, and if he be halted, he is reminded by a morning's careful drill of the value of his training as a soldier. No contrast could be conceived greater than that afforded by an army like that of Prussia, complete in all its parts, and an army like that of India, frittered over an immense tract of country, complete in no one single part, divided into 16 divisions and 25 brigades ; many of the brigades being only cheap divisions, and organized under, so to speak, three more or less rival systems, the British, the Irregularism of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and that of the Frontier or Contingent system. That unity which Germans prize so highly, and which has made their army, according to Colonel Hamley, the most formidable weapon, whether for offence or defence, ever forged by the hand of man, has no meaning in India. The first step in any reform in this direction must be the abolition of the minor Commanders-in-Chief, and the absorption of all independent brigades into the body of the army. The whole force can then be re-distributed into graded divisional commands, each to be held by a Major-General, the rank of Brigadier being done away with. The first-class division commanders would answer to the *corps* commanders in Prussia, and their primary duty would be to keep all below them up to the mark, and the whole of the troops under their authority ready to move at a moment's notice. We should not then have the Commander-in-Chief in India inspecting solitary regiments as a part of his regular duty. He would be relieved of much drudgery, and would yet have the whole force of India more truly in the hollow of his hand than any of his predecessors. The army would also perhaps gain in efficiency, if, instead of direct enlistment into the ranks, *umedwars* were assembled at various points selected as divisional depôts, and drafted into regiments as occasion arose. These reserves might safely amount to at least 100 men per regiment, and might perhaps obviate the necessity for keeping up a semi-drilled and armed police reserve.

At present the Indian army is obnoxious to almost any charge a Continental officer could bring against a force calling itself an army, yet India pays enough to secure as good an

army as is possible. Not many months before Sir William Mansfield left India, a raid was made upon some heavy batteries of artillery, which were broken up, and the men absorbed. Since then a few men have been reduced in the Madras infantry regiments. Reduction has, in fact, been carried to its extreme point, without, however, ceasing to make the army costly to a degree. Mr. Sturt's "Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress of India during 1868-69, presented to the Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty," makes the army of India amount to 183,000 men.

	Europeans.	Natives.
Bengal	... 36,795	46,276
Madras	... 12,766	45,992
Bombay	... 12,276	28,753
Total	... 61,837	121,021

This army cost, according to the same authority, the immense sum of £16,269,581. It may be useful to see what other countries pay, and what they receive for the money.

Nation.	War department Budget.	Strength of Army on peace footing.
America	... £ 25,676,385	80,000
Russia	... £ 20,655,900	500,000
India	... £ 16,269,581	183,000
France	... £ 15,000,000	404,794
England	... £ 14,250,000	161,302
North Germany	£ 10,200,000	319,476
Austria	... £ 7,295,000	246,000
Italy	... £ 5,707,320	183,441
Spain	... £ 3,966,712	80,000

India is therefore *third*, if we regard outlay, but *sixth* only, if we look to the number of men kept on foot. In all the other countries, however, a portion of the outlay, more or less, is spent on-reserves of some sort. The only reserves of the Indian army are the 4,000 or 5,000 men in the home depôts of the British regiments, and a few invalids. One cause of this vast expenditure is doubtless to be found in the necessity for keeping up a transport service, another is the burden of a huge non-effective list, but the main cause must be sought in the fact that India has, with a very trifling exception, to supply her army with equipments from home. This tells against her in two ways. She has, first, to pay an enhanced value for her stores; and she has, secondly, to wait the convenience of the military authorities of the Horse Guards, the War Department, and the India Office. She can produce inventors of rifles, bullets and even of a *mitrailleuse*, but she cannot produce

either a rifle or a *mitrailleuse*, and she is only now in a position to produce Snider bullets, of a pattern by the way which will not stand the climate. One of two conclusions seems inevitable; either it is intended to keep the Indian army as helpless as possible, or it is seriously believed that its communications with England will never be affected by any war at all. Instead of sending Colonel Maxwell home to learn how to cast bronze muzzle-loading cannon, he should have been instructed to procure the machinery for a small, but first class, manufacturing arsenal. Surely, it is as necessary to provide the army with weapons as the people with coin. The chief recommendation of a standing army is, that it is able to deliver a crushing blow at the very outset of a war, but if it be, as the Indian army is now, confessedly the worst armed force in the world, its ability to keep the field, except against tribes using matchlocks, is open to very grave doubt.

What the mutiny began, amalgamation has rendered permanent. If India has the worst armed, she has also the worst officered army in the world. Her system sets gradations of rank at defiance, and replaces an ordered regimental system of officering her troops by a mere regimental staff. The merit of the Irregular system before the mutiny was, that special officers created special corps, bound together by ties of more than clannish loyalty, and reflecting sharply, in their brilliant dash and valour, the qualities of their leaders. This spirit is now almost absent from the army. The line of demarcation between officers and men is broad and distinct,—so broad that it is almost a gulf. The English officers are in a very great measure replaced by natives promoted from the ranks, and who, however well they may have mastered drill, or however great their natural abilities or taste for war might be, are, as a rule, too ignorant to be an efficient substitute for those they have replaced. The present system cannot possibly stand the test of tough fighting. The number of English officers must be increased, or a means must be found to provide the army with a higher class of native officers. India does not get the worth of the enormous sum she pays for the army—£16,269,581.

Bengal is garrisoned by 32 battalions of British infantry, and 60 battalions of Native infantry, in addition to cavalry and artillery. A battalion of British infantry consists of 750 privates, a native battalion of 600 sepoy; the Sikh and Punjabi regiments of the frontier force have each 640 sepoy. In either case, the battalion is technically "weak," and below a proper war strength. The same may be said of the cavalry: the English regiments numbering 378, and the native, 384 troopers, each. A great deal has been said of the weakness of the artillery,—a special arm, the importance of which is even greater now than in the days when Napoleon won

some of his most desperate conflicts by its use. The English papers have taunted the Government with having placed parsimony before the interests of the State. In the desire to effect at all hazards a reduction of expenditure, the efficiency of a force which can only be useful according as it is highly trained, has been deliberately sacrificed to an unwise spirit of economy. The nation has been alarmed by a demonstration that the one arm of its strength on which it most relied, has been wilfully and persistently kept below the point which would admit of its expanding with ease and rapidity in the hour of need. But India is worse off in this respect than England. The following figures relating to the strength of the home batteries are taken from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of October 26th, those for the Indian batteries from the *Bengal Official Quarterly Army List* :—

	Present strength of Batteries at home.		Strength to which each Battery is being made up.		Full war strength.		Strength of Batteries serving in Bengal.	
	Men.	Horses.	Men.	Horses.	Men.	Horses.	Men.	Horses.
Horse Artillery	167	112	185	146	220	236	151	178
Field Artillery	165	84	177	116	269	242	151	110
" "	165	84	176	84	269	242		

Well might Sir William Mansfield enter a protest against further reductions. He might, however, have spared the world his opinions as to the efficiency of an army which, in spite of the assertion of its being always on active service, is in every branch maintained at the lowest possible standard of a peace-footing. The reputation of the Indian army rests in fact upon its known strength before the mutiny, yet it is now composed of a force of only 121,021 natives against 275,304 in 1856, and is distinguished from other armies by the paucity of its regimental officers. Take Bengal and compare the native infantry in this respect with the English regiments, care being taken to leave out all officers on leave in England, or employed away from their regiments.

Battalions.		Cols.	Lieut.-Cols.	Majors	Cpts.	Lieuts.	Ensigns.
45 regts. of N. I.		9	38	43	136	87	15
5 " of Goorkhas		0	6	5	16	6	0
4 " of Sikhs	}	0	2	4	33	23	6
6 " of Punjabis							
60 battalions of native infantry		9	46	52	185	116	21
32 battalions of British infantry		10	27	47	206	300	230

To an ordinary understanding it would seem as if either the English regiments were officered on a most extravagant scale, or the

native regiments dangerously under-officered. This will be seen also in the cavalry.

19 regiments of } native cavalry }	Cols.	Lieut.-Cols.	Majors.	Cpts.	Lieutg.	Cornet.	Ensign.
	3	7	11	52	33	1	1

One regiment of native cavalry has four lieutenants, one regiment has three, nine regiments have two, and eight regiments have one. In the Punjab Frontier Force the case is perhaps worse—

5 regiments of } native cavalry }	Col.	Lieut.-Col.	Majors.	Cpts.	Lieutg.	Cornet.	Ensign.
	0	1	2	14	10	0	0

In the infantry the average is 7.15 officers to each battalion of 600 sepoys, and 25.62 officers to each English battalion of 750 privates; that is, in the former case, one officer to about 84 men, and in the latter, one officer to about 29 men. But, bad as the system evidently must be, it is aggravated by the operation of the leave rules. To give an example from that portion of the Bengal army most exposed to the chances of active service, the ten regiments of native infantry belonging to this force had, according to the *Bengal Army List* for October last, 87 combatant appointments to be held by English officers, but of these the probationary and officiating appointments were, according to the same list, no less than 41, or about 47 per cent. One regiment was officered by no more than four combatant officers, the rest being on leave: the four are thus described:—one officiating commandant one officiating second in command and wing officer, one officiating wing officer, and one officiating adjutant and first wing subaltern. The designations are as barbarous and uncouth as the system is ill-devised and ill-developed. It will not fail to have struck the reader that the captains are largely in excess of the other ranks and that the junior grades are weak. Under the irregular system a captain is the luckiest of all officers, if he is not on the general list. He may be anything from that peculiarly Indian hybrid—"an adjutant and wing subaltern," to the commandant of a battalion and, if ever fortune brought, say, the 1st, 2nd and 5th regiments of Punjab infantry together, a lucky accident on the staff might give a captain the temporary command of a brigade. This is no because field officers are scarce, for the April *Army List* showed that for the 121,021 soldiers of the native army there was a staff of excluding Artillery and Engineers, 20 Generals, 40 Lieutenant Generals, 113 Major-Generals, 227 Colonels, 543 Lieutenant-Colonels and 606 Majors. It is fortunate that the Police and Civil employ absorb some of these officers, for the cost of the army would be an even greater burden than it is. It affords, however, food for reflection to find so many field officers paid for doing nothing, while captains command regiments, not because they are better officers or because they are cheaper, for there can be no saving, but because

they happen to be in the way of getting their commands. The Indian army is, again, officered from a huge Staff Corps which threatens to embrace every officer employed with native troops, yet it has no staff college, and just as the French have been scorned for their want of knowledge of the geography and topography of their own country, so the Indian army is open to censure in that it believed the Umbeyla Pass to be two miles long until the advance over the border proved it to be six. If an Indian officer wishes to go through a course of instruction in military science, he must take leave and enter Sandhurst. India offers him no opportunity. This astounding fact is but a fresh proof of the singular way in which the Indian army is subordinated to English notions, and its best and truest interests ignored or sacrificed. The officers in France have found, when too late, how great an evil was separation from their men; how in spite of admirable drill, it broke the bonds of discipline, and in the hour of trial, when mutual knowledge and mutual respect might have availed to keep a front to a successful enemy, it converted defeat into rout, and the disorder of a lost fight into irretrievable confusion and irremediable wreck. Over and over again do the war correspondents repeat the complaint of the French officers that their men will not obey them, and the angry lamentation of the French soldiers that they know nothing of their officers. In India this mutual knowledge, a knowledge which all history teaches us, is absolutely necessary to the efficiency of any army—more especially of an army of mercenaries, was the strong point of the old sepoy army; yet in a force whose leaders are as 1 to 54, the extraordinary number of acting appointments must have a most injurious effect. The result of the present system is to render an intimate personal knowledge of his men well-nigh impossible to the Indian regimental officer. Here again the breakdown of the French system cannot but be a solemn warning to the authorities of the Indian army to set their house in order. The present system fails in a three-fold sense; it is obnoxious to the charge of ignoring any enemy better handed and armed than such as are to be found in India itself; it breaks down distinctions of rank in the most ridiculous and irregular fashion; it widens the distance between the leaders and the led; and by gradually making a system of time promotion universal, it operates prejudicially against the professional zeal of the officers. In short, the time seems to call for a repetition of the warning of Sir Henry Lawrence—"Honour will be to him who, notwithstanding the outcry that will follow, will change the system that has brought irregular troops into fashion to the disparagement of regulars." This warning is, in a special sense, the lesson to be derived by India from the war. She cannot adopt the national army systems; she cannot,

without excessive expenditure and considerable danger, create large reserves. But she can regularize her forces, and once for all abandon the misgivings and the mistakes which have grown up out of the mutiny of the Bengal sepoys.

Further, the stand made by Lord Granville against the insidious demands of Prince Gortschakoff may be regarded as a proof of the greater weight India now exercises on English imperial policy. The governing interest of England in the Eastern question, in the neutralization of the Black Sea, and the maintenance of the sovereignty of the Porte, is the necessity for preserving the line of communication with India from a disastrous and sudden attack in flank. A war waged by England in Europe must ever be more or less the opportunity of the disaffected in India. In the *Friend of India* for June 16th, 1859, "a leading mutineer, a man high in the confidence of the Begum," is represented as saying in a statement of the causes and consequences of the mutiny:—"If you have to send regiments to England on account of the war, excitement will be produced, for all eyes are turned in that direction." That statement is as true of 1871 as it was of 1856-57. But the world has made a great step in advance since the mutiny. The efforts necessary to preserve India, opened the eyes of the people of England to the value of their great dependency. The Abyssinian expedition taught them that an army employed beyond India may be regarded as an army of hostages. The Indian garrison will never be weakened, but the whole Indian army may be called upon to take part in an imperial contest. To enable it to rise to the expectations formed of it, to rise in fact to the height of its own reputation, it must be, as far as the native branch is concerned, regularized, and, as a whole, it must be made self-contained, independent, and ONE. Facilities must be provided for officers to study their profession in India; tactics, or the mere professional handling of troops, will not suffice without knowledge of war as an art. Means must be found to free the service of superfluous officers who are retained with injustice to themselves and injury to the State, and to secure a supply of subaltern officers independently of the English garrison. In case of a war this source would not be available. The artillery must be re-armed; as the old six and nine pounder smooth-bores and 12 and 24 pounder howitzers could only be taken into the field at great risk. And even more than this,—the artillery should be brought up to and maintained at its full strength. The excess of men over the peace requirements of cantonments in the plains might be formed into a dépôt in the hills. The infantry and cavalry ought to be armed with the best weapons. A special arm, with its own peculiar ammunition, places the soldiers at the mercy of those who hold their magazines, and is therefore, to that extent, a guarantee of their

loyalty or powerlessness, whichever term it may be convenient to use. But magazines ought to be invariably places of strength, situated on main lines of communication. A system of such places of strength is a want which the Public Works Department has yet to satisfy. While, too, a re-organization of the army is necessary to give the Government of India and the Commander-in-chief instant and supreme command over it as a whole, it should be reconstructed so that each individual portion may march by itself, at the shortest notice, and without depending on a railway. The usefulness of a railway in India is limited by the fact that it cannot follow an army into the field. Yet care should always be taken to protect the more important joints of the main lines of railroads by works capable of being defended by a resolute handful of men against largely superior numbers. The organizations in France and Germany known to English readers under the collective name of "the train," are conspicuous by their absence in India. Lastly, the Indian army ought to have its own manufactory of arms, as well as its cannon foundry and small-arm ammunition factory. The inveterate English habit of leaving emergencies to create the agencies by which they are to be conquered—a habit pregnant with danger and productive of riotous waste and cost—has claimed the Indian army for its peculiar prey. If the member of the Government responsible for the administration of the army, will favour the public with a detailed army budget, following the example of Lord Mayo in the Public Works Department in April last, the public of India will be in a position to see what they get for so gigantic a vote as £16,269,581. And for the rest, bearing in mind the lessons of the Franco-German War and the threatening look of the political atmosphere, charged in all directions—in America, in Eastern Europe, in China, with the elements of fierce disturbance, the conviction is irresistible, that the army of India is behind the age by the whole period which has intervened since the Crimean War, and that the sooner it is re-modelled, re-organized and re-armed, the better it will be for the peace of India herself, and the interests of the empire of which she is so important a member.

ART. II—MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE IN INDIA.

A MANUAL OF MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE FOR INDIA, *including the outline of a history of crime against the person in India.* By Norman Chevers, M.D., Surgeon-Major, H. M. Bengal Army; Principal of the Calcutta Medical College, Professor of Medicine, and Senior Physician in the College Hospital; President of the Bengal Social Science Association. Calcutta; Thacker Spink and Co., Publishers to the University. 1870.

A BOOK may be judged either according to what it ought to be, or according to what it is meant to be. If the former criterion is adopted, the reviewer is bound to determine as fairly and fully as possible what occasion or demand there is for its appearance, what design or purpose its appearance should fulfil, and how far its elaboration does or does not satisfy this want and attain this end. If the author's own statements as to the reasons which prompted him to undertake the work and the objects which he designs to attain, are accepted, then the critic is bound to examine the book in the light of these reasons and designs, and to declare whether the work done subserves the ends contemplated and assigned.

A clear understanding on this point is perhaps more necessary in endeavouring to form a judgment upon a *Manual of Medical Jurisprudence* than any other kind of scientific work, for this simple reason that the field is so wide and difficult of definition. If a very high or exhaustive standard is set up, the merits of an excellent work which does not cover the possible amplitude of the subject may be under-rated and real injustice done by expecting that the author ought to have accomplished what he never meant to attempt. A moment's consideration of what the science of medical jurisprudence is, and how it is related to the other medical sciences, will add force to these remarks. Medical Jurisprudence, as commonly understood, may be roughly defined as the application of medical science to the detection and proof of crime affecting the human person. Yet there are questions which are frequently referred to the medical jurist, and which demand for their solution medical knowledge and special skill which do not fall within the domain of criminal law—questions upon which social arrangements and rights with regard to marriage, property, will-making, inheritance, life-insurance, &c., depend. These considerations compel a wider definition; and it is obvious that medico-legal science must embrace every kind of medical knowledge, which the law, in adjusting all kinds of social questions, finds it necessary to demand. To satisfy requirements of a scope so ample, it is not enough that the medical jurist should draw

nis facts from the medical sciences properly so-called—*anatomy and physiology*, which teach the structure and functions of the body; *pathology and morbid anatomy*, which embrace its diseased conditions and changes; *surgery, medicine and obstetrics*, which treat of the special diseases of the organism, their nature, phenomena and management; *physics, chemistry, therapeutics, toxicology, botany and natural history*, which supply a knowledge of the agencies which may in the usual course of events affect the body, or may artificially be brought to do so, and disclose the various relations and interdependencies which exist between man and external nature. All these sciences—essential or constituent, collateral or auxiliary—do not suffice to fill the quiver of the medical jurist. He must also be familiar with *psychology and psychopathy*—the normal and abnormal states of man as a rational being; with *ethnology and sociology*, in as far as they reveal the modifications in character and physical configuration which the continued action of external conditions produce, and the relations social, sexual and political, which obtain among men of different races and countries; add to this a moderate knowledge of general jurisprudence, written law and legal procedure, and a tolerably comprehensive sketch of the field from which medical jurisprudence has to cull its facts, has been indicated. The special form of the science depends entirely upon the special sphere of its exercise, the special ends it accomplishes, and the kind and amount of information which actual circumstances call into requisition. The subject-matter consists of “cases”; the science, of generalizations from these to meet future contingencies; and the art, of the aptitude to bring generalizations already evolved, experience already recorded, or information of any kind whencesoever obtained, to bear on the solution of a present difficulty or problem, social or legal. In two words, HUMAN NATURE, in its widest and largest sense, is the central and principal aim and object of the medical jurist’s researches. If he would represent his science in its most useful and promising aspects, he must not content himself with mere technical details relating to the descriptions of injuries, the detection of blood stains, or the recognition of poisons; he must lay bare those springs of actions which prompt to the commission of crime, show in what manner, in the usual life-history of human beings and communities, criminal thoughts arise and criminal practices grow, demonstrate how in different circumstances similar motives prompt the same, analogous, or dissimilar customs and deeds, describe the phases through which healthy thought degenerates into irrational or criminal thought, and the shades of mental condition which fall under or between these categories; in short, he must develop the laws of social pathology. By doing this, he assists and subserves that higher function of law which

attempts the prevention of crime, as much as by his acumen and success in handling technical details he contributes to the clearing up of any particular crime or legal question which may become the subject of a particular trial. It is satisfactory to find that these high aims, which undoubtedly *ought* to constitute the aspirations of a writer on medical jurisprudence, are precisely the views which Dr. Chevers entertains, as avowed in his preface and manifested in the handling and illustration of the various subjects taken up in his book. The author and critic are, therefore, in complete accord as to what the book ought to be, and it remains to be seen whether and to what extent the design of the work has been carried out.

The history of this book is interesting. When performing the duties of a Civil Surgeon, Dr. Chevers remarks that he was frequently struck with the remarkable singularity and intricacy of the medico-legal questions, upon which his opinion was required by the magistrates and judges of districts, and he consequently perceived that our Indian medical literature stood greatly in want of a treatise on medical jurisprudence, embodying clear and practical expositions of the various and peculiar modes by which the natives of this country are wont to effect crimes against the person, and to attempt their concealment; as well as full illustrations of the many difficult questions regarding unsoundness of mind, identity, suicide, torture, &c., which frequently occur here under circumstances entirely dissimilar to those which call for the like investigations in Europe. Dr. Mouat, when occupying the chair of Forensic Medicine in the Calcutta Medical College in 1853, was so deeply impressed with the necessity of collecting Indian experience as disclosed in trials of criminal cases, that he applied to the court of Nizamut Adawlut (which then held a position as a court of reference and appeal similar to the present High Court) for copies of all depositions of Civil Surgeons in cases of murder and wounding subsequent to 1840, in which year such depositions were directed to be taken. Nine years' reports thus obtained were made over by Dr. Mouat to Dr. Chevers, and formed the subject of an interesting and elaborate paper in the *Indian Annals of Medical Science* for October 1854. This paper attracted the attention of the Marquis of Dalhousie, who requested its author to publish the report separately. In 1856, the second edition of the work appeared; the original treatise was "almost entirely re-written," and materials were drawn from every available source to render it more complete and useful. Only 500 copies were, however, issued, and 400 of these were distributed by Government among district magistrates and judges. The work was thus never "published" in the usual sense of the term, and has been long out of print.

This, the third edition, has been long wanted. It is evident that during the fourteen years which have intervened since the second edition was printed, the subject has been ever present with the author, and it is difficult to say which we should admire most, the industry with which such a vast collection of material as the book now contains has been amassed, or the ingenuity with which every piece of information has been placed so as to constitute an admirably arranged and thoroughly readable system; and it is worthy of note that Dr. Chevers continues to collect and accumulate material, so that there is reason to believe that the subjects already so carefully handled and copiously illustrated may, in a future edition or editions, grow still clearer and weightier from a new accession of light and material. The history of the work explains one omission which a comparison with other works on medical jurisprudence reveals, namely, a consideration of questions which come under the notice of civil law. A glance over the table of contents shows that the work almost entirely refers to the administration of criminal law, and embraces only a consideration of criminal acts. Questions of "State Medicine," such as the influence on health of social conditions, trades, &c., which fall more properly under the domain of sanitary science, are also omitted. The author does not profess to furnish an elementary treatise on medical jurisprudence, but rather "a system for India, intended to be used by those who have already mastered the science of legal medicine, as it stands well-nigh complete for Europe in the works of Taylor, Casper and Guy." The work is also intended to give an outline of the "history of crime against the person in India;" to expound the "true origin, nature and distribution of crime" in this country, and to indicate among what classes crime prevails, and the traditions upon which these criminals act.

Having thus indicated the history and scope of the work, it is not our intention to follow the author into every subject taken up in his 850 closely printed pages, or to present an analysis of their matter. This would alike deprive readers of a pleasure, and do the author an injustice. We shall endeavour rather to select for discussion those more general and less technical subjects which must possess an interest for the non-professional reader, and may furnish a more or less correct and complete knowledge of criminal practices in India, their origin, peculiarities and causes.

One of the most prominent features of medico-legal practice revealed in the book are the difficulties which in this country are inseparable from it.

There is, first and foremost, putrefaction. The distances from which bodies have to be sent, the delays which may occur from a great variety of causes in their transmission, and, above all, the

climate, combine to produce a condition of the remains which is at once loathsome and revolting in the extreme, and renders the most searching and honestly conducted examination futile. Dr. Chevers' description at page 38, which we dare not transcribe, is at once graphic and true. The experience of every Civil Surgeon in India, and of many a Magistrate—for in sub-divisional stations it is the duty of the Civil Officer to witness autopsies in police cases—will abundantly support the statement that “a body of this kind” offers no very safe or encouraging field for the morbid anatomist's researches.” Hemay, however, consider himself fortunate if his subject, even though putrid to a degree, reaches him in a tolerable state of entirety and cohesion. So many are the disorganizing agencies at work in this country that, unless an examination is made within a very few hours of death, fallacies are liable to obscure the inquiry. The disposal of the dead in India, even in the ordinary course of events, and when no motive to conceal the identity or accelerate dismemberment and disorganization exists, provides for the rapid obliteration of all traces which may lead to a detection of the cause of death, unless they are the most marked and impressed upon the skeleton. Earth, air and water abound with active agents of destruction of organized material, and whether the corpse is exposed in the “jungles of patches of waste land, ploughed fields, dirt heaps, sandy tracts, or dry water-courses,” or thrown into “tanks, swamps, muddy streams” or wells, or buried a few feet below a little loose sand or soil, or burnt on the river bank, the result is the same—rapid disorganization and unfitness for purposes of medico-legal inquiry. The Civil Surgeon in India must in fact be a medico-legal Owen—not only able to restore from the fragment of a bone the original form, but to reason from it as to the circumstances, motive and manner of a murder. A case related by Dr. Chevers, at page 87, shows the extent to which this may be done, and illustrates the difficulties and peculiarities of medico-legal inquiries in India so well that we shall make no apology for quoting it *in extenso*.

‘In the cold season of 1850, I received a small fragment of recept bone, with an official letter from the Magistrate of the Chittagong district. The bone was evidently a portion of the shaft of the humerus or femur of a young child; it was nearly two inches long and weighed about three drachms. It had formed less than half of the circumference of the shaft, and had evidently been broken off by a jackal, the dent of a small canine tooth being impressed distinctly on its edge. I was informed that a little native girl, about four years old, had been taken away from her home by one Tofan Alee, who was some time afterwards seized by the police in attempting to cross the river. The child's silver ornaments were found upon him; he at once confessed that he had strangled the infant, and pointed out the spot

where he had buried the body. Upon close search, however, nothing could be found there, except the fragment of bone described, and, the *ghoonsee* or waist string, which the child had worn. A place near a tank was also pointed out by the prisoner, in which the child's jacket was found concealed. After confessing to the police, and repeating every circumstance of his crime before the magistrate, the prisoner retracted his avowal; and in the absence of any evidence beyond that afforded by the splinter of bone (which might have been brought by dogs or jackals from a distance), it appeared questionable whether the prisoner might not have committed the not by any means unfrequent crime of stealing the child and selling her, after having stripped her of her clothes and ornaments in the place indicated. After examining the splinter of bone, I expressed my belief that the body had been devoured by wild animals, but told the darogah that diligent search must still be made for the skull, which would doubtless be discovered. I was convinced that small animals like jackals could do no more than gnaw the perfectly ossified skull of a child of that age, and roll it from place to place. The darogah failing to make any further discovery, I accompanied the magistrate to the scene of the alleged crime, a very distant solitary spot, on the bank of a narrow but deep and rapid marsh stream, by which any fragments of the body might have been carried down towards the river. As, however, it appeared unlikely that the jackals would resign any portion of their prey, I still maintained confidently that the skull must be found probably among the thickets of wild pine-apple with which the ground was covered. Shortly after this, the skull of a child was brought to me by the police; it was recent, corresponded with the age of the missing child, and had, evidently, been gnawed by small wild animals, the marks of whose teeth traversed the calvarium in every direction. Still, again, this prompt discovery of the skull, upon my reiterated assertion that it must be forthcoming, after the ground had been searched again and again for nearly a week by the whole *posse comitatus*, was somewhat startling; and the suspicion obtruded itself—have the police been so much impressed with the confidence of my assertion, that some *burkungee*, failing to discover the head, and feeling himself unpleasantly responsible to the darogah, has endeavoured to resolve the difficulty by borrowing a credible head from one of the many bodies daily floating down the adjacent river? The skull was shown to the child's father, who asserted that he could identify it by the shape of the front teeth; but still it was questionable whether, in his anxiety to convict the man who was known to have kidnapped his child, he would have hesitated to identify any skull that might have been produced. When tried, the prisoner recalled his confession, and pleaded 'not guilty.' The sessions judge, however, sentenced him to death, and the judges of the superior court confirmed the decision, recording their opinion that "the *corpus delicti* being proved, non-recognition should not absolutely and invariably be ruled to bar capital punishment. Each case should be tried with reference to the circumstances, and to the facts established." The prisoner suffered the last penalty of the law.'

The medical jurist in India must not only be perfectly familiar with every mode in which death may occur, but he must also be prepared for every event which may happen to the body after death, whether in the usual course of events or designedly procured. A more precise and systematic knowledge of the effects of decomposition, disorganization and dismemberment, in different circumstances, is still a want in Indian medical jurisprudence. Information, such as that supplied at page 64 with regard to incrimination, is of the utmost medico-legal value, and we think that for Indian needs a work on forensic medicine should contain as exact data as can be furnished for enabling surgeons to judge of the age of bones or the period that has elapsed since their owner died, and to reconstruct skeletons from fragments. The tables of Sue, Orfila and others, should be verified for this country. Though perhaps not so correct or useful as their authors considered them, they are the only available data as yet supplied; and if their limits of possible error were accurately laid down from a sufficiently large induction, the inferences obtainable from them might be most valuable in cases when a single bone or a few bones represent the *corpus delicti*. Dr. Chevers very properly insists upon the importance of studying the ethnological peculiarities of the skeleton, and it would have added to the value of the book, had he given some of the principal measurements of the cranium and long bones in different classes and ages with relation to stature.

The difficulties of identification of the dead in India are very instructively dealt with, and the cases related and considerations adduced show the greater importance of producing and proving the *corpus delicti* in India than elsewhere. Some very curious cases of imputation of murder for vindictive purposes or for the sake of extortion are related, and instances given of the appearance of a living *corpus delicti*, when the web of circumstantial evidence has been drawn round a marked man with almost fatal tightness. When a reputed culprit feels himself bound by the apprehension of ill usage (p. 157), or by the weight of suspicion resting on him (p. 69), to confess to a crime which he has never committed, or when confessions are made and retracted or modified, it is obvious that the main and central item of proof—the corpse of the victim—should be forthcoming; and so long as natives of Bengal are apt to cause a man to disappear, produce a putrid corpse fished out of a river and wounded *post mortem* (p. 150), or hack a wretch just dead of some mortal disease and lay the corpse and deed at the door of some obnoxious person, too great care cannot be taken in proving the identity of the dead. If the author had done nothing else than bring this subject forward so prominently and illustrate it so instructively, he would have done a good service for medical jurisprudence.

The case of the wealthy mahajun, who "had a young and handsome wife, of whom he was known to be exceedingly jealous," at page 54, though perhaps too romantically told for a scientific work, is highly suggestive. The facts given at pages 57—59, by which different castes and sexes of natives may be recognized from external marks, are most excellent and useful, and might be greatly amplified so as to include all the different tribes of India. The peculiar modes of tattooing adopted by some hill tribes, corns or callosities, produced by ornaments or particular habits, &c., should be known and described accurately and exhaustively for use in doubtful investigations. Such a habit as wearing gold charms under the skin of the chest, which the Burmans practise, would afford an infallible clue to nationality even in a decomposed and partially disorganized body. Apparent trifles of this sort sometimes acquire, in legal medicine, an immense value. But the difficulties of medico-legal enquiry are considerably added to by the designed efforts of murderers to conceal, disfigure or dismember bodies. A valuable sketch of some of the practices resorted to is given at pages 22—29, but it is obvious that this subject might be very considerably enlarged upon with advantage. There is one point with regard to concealment of bodies in wells—a practice very common up-country—which is not brought out quite so fully as we could have wished, namely, the liability of bodies so disposed of to sustain injuries by coming in violent contact with the walls. This may sometimes come to be a very nice medico-legal question, and cases might be cited in addition to those mentioned at page 631, in which the determination of the point was both important and difficult. The analogous subject of *post-mortem* wounding is, however, prominently discussed, and some valuable practical hints given at page 350 on the distinction between *pre-mortem* and *post-mortem* wounds. When the design to conceal or disfigure a corpse is apparent, it affords a most important item of evidence, and though the following up of the clue belongs rather to the policeman than to the surgeon, still the suggestion proceeds from the latter, and the more intimately he is acquainted with the *dodges* of murderers, the more keen will his perception of such indications be. This consideration will demonstrate the value of many details in Dr. Chevers' volume, which may appear more or less irrelevant and of general rather than special interest. Such a passage as the following, which is given as an example of the author's style, proves the value of a knowledge of human nature in practical medical jurisprudence.

'Experience of criminal cases in all countries tends to show that the murderer is never satisfied with his work. He can never boldly leave matters to themselves, in defiance of suspicion, but must do something, and generally does it with a marked singularity which

attracts attention, and at once fixes the brand of criminality upon his act. He will not bury the body, lest the earth should burst or sink, or the grass should wither, or grow greener there than on other spots, or lest wild animals should burrow into it or tear it up, or lest a train of insects should guide the avengers of blood to it, or a torrent should descend and lay it bare. The cover of the thickest jungle will not conceal its stench from the birds and animals which will gather round it. Every reservoir far and near will be searched for it; weights will not keep it down in water; fish will collect and struggle above it; the next dry season may bring it to light; an eddy will mark where it lies sunk in the bed of the deepest stream. A fatal blow has been struck,—he cannot throw open his doors courageously and say, This man came to rob and wound me, or to outrage my feelings, and I struck him dead in self-defence, or in sudden rage;—but he must take the body forth at night and hang it before his door with the stamp of murder upon it; or he must try to burn it piecemeal in a stove or furnace, although he knows professionally that, with such means as are at his disposal, it would take cart-loads of wood to consume a human body, and that with an odour which must tell the tale to every passer-by. He is not content to strangle his victim and to cast his body forth, when it would be doubtful upon whom suspicion ought to rest, but he must separate it limb from limb, and place each fragment where it must certainly be discovered and tell its own history. He knows that when his cow or his goat dies in the fields, the jackals and crows and vultures speedily devour it; he therefore exposes his victim in like manner, when the wild creatures either avoid it or leave its wounds untouched. He deliberately murders in a manner which would made it appear that death was suicidal, and then hastens to undo his work and to leave the evidence of murder clear and unmistakeable.' (p. 601.)

This oppressive sense of guilt which goads its possessor on to desperation, is probably less felt by the criminal population of this country than by the same class in Europe, but it may and no doubt does exist in many cases,* and its evidence in the acts of the culprit, with particular regard to the disposal of the victim, is a matter of instinctive inference which may be reduced to scientific rules as precise as any rules relating to voluntary acts can be.

The description of the murderer at page 809, as "heated, panting, and almost wild with rage or terror, or pale, tremulous, pros-

* The following is from a report of criminal justice in the Madras Presidency for 1856:—"In Luttimungalum Taluk a wife and a husband had an altercation and quarrel between each other, when in a fit of rage the husband lifted up his two children aged $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 years, and dashed them on a stone, whereby the chil-

dren were killed instantly. The man was arrested and sent up by the police to the criminal court. But on his way to Coimbatore, he refused to take any sustenance for two days (probably, as it appeared, from the dreadful impression his own deed had made on his mind) and died before he reached the court."

trated and horror-stricken," is one which will not find a response in the recollection of many police officers, magistrates or civil surgeons. On the contrary, the average Bengal murderer is a singularly stolid, quiet, ordinary-looking creature, and unless he is *acting*, he preserves a most admirable calmness and self-possession, until, with "hureebol" on his lips, he takes his involuntary leap off the scaffold. And here we would remark, although it is a little out of the logical sequence of this comment, that the one great fault of Dr. Chevers' book is its tendency in some places to an unpractical, romantic and poetic view of the subject. It is very seldom, for instance, that a murderer is brought into the sudder station red-handed, and even if he were intoxicated, excited or mad, we fail to see the reason of not applying every art and agent to reduce him to a quiet and decent demeanour before the day of trial. The question is not, what is his state of mind when under trial for the offence,—then the calmer and saner he is, to confess or defend, the better; but what was his state of mind before and at the time of commission of the deed. This is a matter of evidence. We should therefore utterly and emphatically repudiate the statement that "it is only *after the trial*" (which may take place months after the deed) "that the physician can be justified in *treating* the criminal lunatic." (p. 810.) As well decline to sponge and stitch and dress the wound which may have been the stimulus to the fatal act of retaliation, in order to present it gaping and ghastly before "the jury who are to try him for murder."

The suggestion at page 29 to train pariahs and vultures "for the discovery of missing bodies," partakes of the same spirit; and excellent and to a great extent practicable as is the recommendation at page 74, to employ photography for medico-legal purposes, we cannot see much prospect of success in placing before the "hardened savage, obstinate in the denial of his guilt, the actual scene of his atrocity—the familiar walls, the charpoy, the ghastly faces as they last appeared to his reeling vision—the sight which has haunted his brain every hour since the act was done, while he believed to a certainty that its reality could never come before his eyes again." The same kind of objection applies to the suggestion, at page 462, to excise the spleen in cases of rupture. Cases of this sort generally occur in the recesses of a distant village, and it is exceedingly seldom that a medical man, possessing the necessary skill to perform this, one of the most formidable operations in surgery, is likely to be present when wanted. On this subject also, we may remark that the conditions of the rupture, &c., which determine a longer or shorter duration of life, and the methods of natural cure of such ruptures, are scarcely brought out as distinctly as they might be.

There is another difficulty in the practice of medical jurisprudence in this country, on which Dr. Chevers very properly lays great stress: it is the very meagre and often misleading character of the information supplied to the medical officer examining the body. The remarks upon this subject are both urgent and convincing. When the investigation is from any circumstances attended with difficulty, a clue is of the greatest value, and it would be as reasonable to withhold from the detective officer every scrap of information, every hint or suggestion which may aid his inquiry, as to deprive the surgeon in his search for the cause of death of any guide to the sign or lesion which may declare how death was caused. The analogy of a leading question is an utterly false one, and the position of a witness with motives to conceal, amplify or distort what he has seen or knows, and that of a scientific investigator searching for the cause of death, are totally different. "No surgeon," Dr. Chevers very truly remarks, "can be fairly expected to unravel every tissue of a body from which life may have been expelled by any one of a hundred causes,—such as by the softening of part of a nervous centre, by a stroke of lightning, by a snake-bite, by exposure to a poisonous gas, by a blow over the stomach, by a bodkin thrust into some vital organ, from hydrophobia or idiopathic tetanus, by the effect of a few drops of prussic acid, or of a few grains of strychnia,—the detection of every one of which would become an undertaking of greater and greater difficulty with every hour that elapsed after the departure of vital heat." (p. 40.) "Medical jurists," we are told further on, "cannot be too conversant with the details of the judicial enquiries in which their opinions are called for, and all reserve in furnishing them with the information which they require, involves an infraction of the law, as established both in England and in India." (p. 42.) The surgeon must not, however, confine his attention to any extraneous suggestions he may thus receive; "the examination of the body should be thorough—the plan of making partial autopsies is altogether wrong." (p. 42.) It is of the greatest importance to confirm or disprove an alleged cause of death, but Dr. Chevers cites cases which show how much damage the cause of justice may sustain by a neglect to disclose coincident causes, or record facts which may repel a possible defence. This indeed constitutes another of the difficulties of medico-legal research. It is highly probable that very few deaths occur in an Indian village; the circumstances and causes of which are not very well known to a tolerably wide circle of persons. The average native is in matters of every-day life shrewd enough, and rural social existence is confined within such a comparatively narrow circle of repeated acts, that very few of the villagers can be ignorant of the causes and circumstances of a village event; but reasons for reticence or positive misguiding

rapidly spring up, and the fragment of yellow paper which reaches the medical officer or magistrate along with the corpse, may be specious and circumstantial enough, but *totally false*, while a closer investigation, days or weeks afterwards, may bring a new theory of causation to the surface—true or untrue—when the opportunity of specifically verifying or disproving it has irretrievably passed away. The *suggestio falsi* is as well understood as, and more mischievous in these matters than, the *suppressio veri*, and the medical jurist must be fully prepared for both.

Dr. Chevers gives some very instructive cases and valuable hints on this subject. Some of the causes which prevent murder from coming to the knowledge of the police, are noted at pages 14 and 15 and others are elsewhere suggested. "The dread of a judicial inquiry, or the fear of offending a powerful criminal, very frequently induces the zemindars and others on whose land the bodies of murdered persons are found, to conceal the remains." Then, there is the apathy of the rural native, the corruption of the village police, the false fear of disclosure, and the equally false regard to honour, the venality of witnesses, and the fear of the police. Illustrations of what may be expected from a village inquest are given at page 37, and a striking example of the proceedings of a too efficient police, in which the discovery of a body led to the fabrication of a charge of murder, at page 69. These illustrations suggest a difficulty which is more felt by the judge than the medical officer—namely, the "uncertainty of general evidence in India." On this subject Dr. Chevers remarks generally:—"In India, the deceit inherent in the character of the lower class of natives, surrounds all judicial investigations with an atmosphere of obscurity. Whenever the case has involved loss of life, the friends of the deceased are not unnaturally prone to give, to say the least, an exaggerated colouring to their statements. Other witnesses, less personally concerned in the issue, either speak under intimidation or for a price, or do not hesitate to endeavour to gain credit by asserting more than they know. The neighbours, if not personally affected by the occurrence, are either quite indifferent, or more or less adverse, to the police and their inquiry." (p. 75) Medical officers are not unfrequently called upon to judge of the credibility of evidence involving scientific questions, and they cannot be too cautious in making allowance for the share which imagination or designed misrepresentation may bear in sworn testimony. Fortunately the inventive faculty of natives is as prone to conform to *custom* as every other, and a knowledge of the most common defences put forth by criminals is neither burdensome nor difficult. They most commonly proceed from *vakeels*, and among that fraternity there are a few stock defences neither deep nor hard to combat. The most common are—simple penial, an alibi, insensibility (*behosh*), epilepsy (*mirgi*), insanity,

natural causes, accident, extreme provocation, ill-will on the part of the prosecutors, imputation of the murder to another, &c. &c. Another class of difficulties arises from the modes in which criminal acts are perpetrated ; unusual poisons, compound poisons, and combinations of violence, such as stunning and strangling, drugging and strangling, strangling and suspending, piercing the skull and hanging, drowning and hanging, (pp. 590, 597, 604 and elsewhere,) import considerable doubts into medico-legal inquiry, and every doubt is a gain to the prisoner. It is fortunate, however, that custom and repetition govern the lives of natives so completely that recorded experience becomes thereby a potent guide, and the relation of particular cases furnishes not so much an element for generalization as a parallel for practical use and guidance. The effect of custom as a motive to crime will be discussed below, but its importance as an adjuvant to the discovery of crime and the exposure of criminal practices cannot be too highly estimated.

The question, How are these difficulties to be met?—has been discussed by Dr. Chevers with considerable care and knowledge of the existing practice. As regards the first duty of the surgeon—the efficient examination of the body—the great aim must be to render that duty as speedy, as little offensive, and as convenient as possible. Distance and delay must be combated by educating the native doctors who are scattered over districts in sub-divisions and dispensaries as much as possible in this speciality, and by improving the agency for transmitting bodies. Then, as regards the state of the body and the facilities for examination, disinfectants and antiputrescents must be systematically used, and the dead-house and its appliances must be improved. These points are discussed at pages 29-44 ; and again, with regard to transmitting suspected matter for chemical examination at pages 318-324 ; and very valuable hints are given on the most efficient methods of performing medico-legal duties in this country. Indeed the suggestions under the latter head leave little to be desired. But beyond these *desiderata*, there is another more general remedy loudly called for, namely, the reformation of the village police and the generation of a better village feeling with regard to criminal occurrences. As long as the chaukidar who ought to detect and report at once any crime which may disturb the village harmony, and the cause and author of which he is no doubt in most cases cognizant of, is, without mincing matters, the greatest blackguard in the place,* ready to delay, temporize, negotiate, mystify, and utterly void of a sense of

* The opinion of Mr. Bethune in follows—
1851 with regard to chaukidars is as “ The whole number of chauki-

duty as separate and distinct from private and pecuniary interest, so long will the detection of crime be difficult, and the zeal, industry and ingenuity of the Civil Surgeon be baffled.

A note at page 15 gives some idea of what these men are, and throughout the book their venality, incompetence, collusion with criminals and utter untrustworthiness, are occasionally illustrated. Nor, we fear, is much to be expected from village panchayets or native juries *at present*. We have heard of a Brahman and a man of low caste being arraigned for the same offence in the same court and on the same evidence, the former being acquitted and the latter condemned by a native jury. Reform in this direction would tend to render justice in criminal cases more speedy and unerring, and it is not strange that these two subjects which Dr. Chevers' book have forced on our notice, are precisely those which have for some time back constituted a source of thought and solicitude to the rulers of India. In the face of the difficulties in medico-legal investigation above indicated, they acquire a new and urgent claim on the attention of social reformers; but their further discussion here is beside the purpose of this paper.

Another subject which Dr. Chevers' volume throws much light upon, and which likewise leads up to questions of social reform, is the *characteristics and peculiarities of criminal occurrences in India*. It is impossible in the absence of trustworthy statistics to form any idea of the prevalence of crime in this country as compared with others. In a note at page 9 the author gives all that he has been able to gather as to the comparative frequency of crimes of magnitude among the Hindu and Muhammadan inhabitants of India. The result is unfavourable to the latter. As many of 3.26 per cent out of 6,344 Muhammadan criminals were convicted of murder against 1.9 per cent out of 15,562 Hindus. Dr. Mair's statistics are also quoted to show that detected murders are rather less frequent in Bengal and Burmah than in England—but what of the undetected murders? The value of Dr. Mair's statistics is considerably depreciated by the result in regard to suicide

dars dismissed for misbehaviour in three years was ... 1,130

of whom were convicted for
murder and thuggee ... 19
for burglary ... 39
for robbery and theft ... 357

that is to say, nearly one-fourth more in proportion to their number, for these heinous crimes, than were convicted in all the lower provinces of Bengal for all offences of every kind."

The Honorable F. J. Halliday,

Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, wrote in 1856 :—

"They are all thieves and robbers or leagued with thieves and robbers, inasmuch that when any one is robbed in a village, it is most probable that the first person suspected will be the village watchman."

What they are in the present day let the experience of magistrates and police officers declare!

* A considerable amount of information in regard to the statistics of

quoted at page 658, namely, that the proportion in an Indian population of fifty-five millions is 1 to 25,300 against 1 in 15,200 in England. The general impression obtained from rural experience in India is the great frequency of suicide, and the paltry motives which prompt natives to commit the crime. Until an accurate census has been taken and the registration of deaths established on a satisfactory basis, statistics of fatal criminal acts must remain a matter of conjecture, and there is no firm basis now to which to refer the prevalence of varieties of crime. The catalogue of prevalent crimes is given at page 6,—“theft, perjury, personation, torture, child stealing, the murder of women and of aged men, assassination, arson, the butchery of children for the sake of their ornaments, drugging and poisoning, adultery, rape, unnatural crime, the procuration of abortion,” and we may add infanticide. It is a grave list enough and contains items incompatible with civilization, but it is satisfactory to find that it does not contain sati (widow murder), leper-burying, ghat-murder, sacrifice, thuggee or dacoity, churruck-poojah (the swinging festival), or immolation beneath the wheels of Jaggannath's car: these, with two exceptions which still linger in the land, have become almost curiosities of crime. An attempt has been made to assign different species of crime to different tribes, provinces or localities, but here also statements are grievously general and vague, and neither subserve the ends of science nor the needs of social treatment. Some crimes, such as infanticide, are localized; others, such as suicidal opium-poisoning, are more common in opium-producing districts, and some criminal practices are characteristic of certain tribes. Beyond statements of this description we cannot go at present. One thing however, impresses the reader most forcibly in perusing the pages of this book, namely, the atrocity of the deeds of violence told in every page. The very names of crimes which meet the eye in glancing over the table of contents would be sensational, if they were not supported by abundant evidence in the text;—hacking, decapitation, cut-throat, crushing in the thorax, mutilation and torture, are a few of the methods of causing death or pain, which any native of India, on suitable provocation, is ready to adopt. Some of the tragedies related in these pages evidence a truculence

crime lies scattered throughout the administration reports of the different presidencies. It might be collected with advantage to prove some general truths of interest, but the diversity of plan on which the reports are drawn up would render the task a difficult one. It is a pity that imperial uniformity is not insisted on

in these matters. The classification of offences in the penal code is rational and excellent, and, *provided the same degree of division were observed*, would answer the requisite purpose, the aim being to determine the kind and amount of crime in regard to population.

and savagery which are absolutely startling. We are told, for example, at page 394, that "in 1868-69 Shaik Buxee of Chyebassa "murdered his wife and her paramour, and brought their heads "to the Deputy Commissioner in triumph." Dr. Chevers shows that this is no unique circumstance. Can we conceive an act of this sort being perpetrated in quiet England? But the examples of multiple murder, or the wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter of a household, or a number of unoffending persons, whom a murder-madman casually meets, are only exceeded in atrocity by the vengeance sometimes wreaked on a breathless corpse. The idea of a man deliberately defending himself in a court of justice by asserting that it was *in play* that he cut the body of a man killed by another, is revolting and ghastly; but the terrible injuries frequently noted on a murdered corpse show that "an unfortunate may be hacked until the assailant's arm grows weary."

The author is very successful in demonstrating the existence of *instincts* in these matters. Thus, it is curious to note that the injuries inflicted by a blunt weapon are generally found on the head (p. 339), those by a cutting weapon on the throat and neck (p. 387), and those by a stabbing weapon at the heart (p. 343). The instinct of defence is also prominently illustrated, and its value as indicating a homicidal causation demonstrated. (pp. 39, 348, 421, &c.) These are instincts of the more general sort which are not peculiar to India; but there are others which depend upon tradition, custom, social conditions, national character, in short, upon the national habit of thought and life, which he is equally happy in illustrating, while an occasional felicitous quotation or curious note develops a parallel of thought and practice in peoples widely separated by time, distance and origin, which is no less remarkable than true and suggestive.

The treatment of the subjects of human sacrifice, punishment of witches and sorcerers, mutilation, torture, and some of the kinds and modes of poisoning, are particularly interesting in this light, and highly suggestive of the yet unwritten work which at page 11 the author so strongly desiderates, *A history of Crime in India*. We would go further and ask for a medico-legal Max-Müller. We have had books on Comparative Philology, Ethnology and Religion—why not have a work on the Comparative History of Crime? The chapter on tortures is particularly full and interesting, and is the part of the book most in accord with the author's views of what it ought to be, and that on which he has evidently bestowed considerable thought and labour. From a practical point of view, a description of the methods of torture, which *may* be still employed in India is most useful, and, psychologically, the consideration of the methods resorted to by different branches

of the human family, at different times, in different circumstances, and for different purposes, to inflict pain short of causing death, is a most profoundly instructive study. There can be no doubt that many of the methods of torture described are still practised in India, more particularly the various modes of compressing and binding the limbs and chest, and burning and branding. The latter practice still lingers throughout the Bengal Presidency, and prints of the *chillum* and *hata* are by no means rare. We may note, however, in passing, that the "cant phrases" which the author quotes as denoting the different species of torture, are neither correct in grammar nor classical in spelling.

There is one principle or law of comparative crime which is not formulated, though abundantly illustrated, in this volume. It is this—*criminal acts and judicial punishments possess an essential analogy in method and object*. Thus, we find that what were judicial punishments of one nation or time are the criminal acts of another nation or of the same at a later time. The deprivation of life, liberty and property are common to both; and these are the main aims alike of crime and judicial punishment; but the infliction of bodily pain or discomfort has been an authorized punishment, and is a common crime. It is very questionable whether judicial whipping is not a barbarity and anachronism. Starvation has been a punishment and is a crime, and here again the propriety of interfering with the food of prisoners is in the light of history a matter of grave doubt. Social degradation and humiliation are an essential of punishment, and we find at page 73 that these very agencies are employed for revenge or aggression. Retaliation, in the form of removing the offending member—tongue, hand, &c.—or destroying a particular function—sight, speech, &c.—have been prescribed by rude laws, and are still practised in the rough-and-ready village law of India. There is one mode of aggression, however, which the united voice of a community has rarely openly sanctioned or declared—that which sunders the sexual tie, or outrages the sexual or parental feelings—which, we find at page 571, enters the mind and prompts the heart of some human monsters. That which subverts the highest social ends, that which men most value, and the deprivation of which most injures the individual interests, life and its staff, parentage and its necessary relations, property and liberty—these constitute a scale of ends on which social life hinges; whether it declares itself in the shape of common sentiment, written law or criminal act. To these may be added the feelings connected with a future life, whether they manifest themselves as superstition, religion or rationalism understood as a doctrine of progressiveness.

On analysing this subject more carefully, the main elements in the causation of crime are—*means, motives, and character*, the

last taken in its widest sense as applicable to individuals and races.

The means by which crimes are perpetrated are no other than those by which the social life is habitually subserved. The same mental faculties by which the ordinary transactions of life are performed, are those employed when unlawful schemes and acts are accomplished ; and the same agents and instruments used in social and industrial life are those which become the weapons of the criminal. It is true that justice and war have their special armories, and that in rude states of society special organizations, and special instruments serve unlawful ends ; but while such organizations and instruments as dacoit and thug communities, the tools of forgers and coiners, engines of burglary, firearms, weapons of offence, and poisons, may become the subject of legislation, the great majority of crimes against the person are committed by means of the social and industrial instruments of the country. Crimes such as rape and sodomy, depend on their perpetration for natural organs and functions ; crimes such as drowning, throwing into wells, exposure of infants, &c., depend on natural agencies ; crimes such as manual strangulation, throttling, assaults by hand or foot, depend on man's personal physical strength, and it is curious to note how few of these occur in India when one man only is concerned ; crimes such as hanging, gagging, suffocating, depend on articles in every man's possession ; crimes such as skull-breaking, bruising, wounding, stabbing, hacking, &c., depend on the possession of lethal weapons ; while crimes such as poisoning, depend on the existence and facility to procure certain agents. Dr. Chevers very properly lays great stress on the facility with which poisons can be procured in India, and he gives some interesting information on the results of examining bunneah's stocks, which ought to be periodically overhauled under legal sanction. He is wrong, however, in stating that there is no law in India prohibitory of the sale of poisons. The Bombay Act VIII of 1866 places restrictions upon the sale of aconite, cocculus, datura, henbane, nux vomica, St. Ignatius bean, calabar bean, white, yellow, red and green arsenic, and corrosive sublimate ; and demands a license to be issued by Municipal Commissioners and Collectors, and the registration of sales. The demonstration of the frequency of the practice of poisoning and the prevalence of cattle-poisoning which is fully discussed at pages 128-135 and elsewhere—a practice to which Mr. G. Campbell was the first to draw attention at Azimgurh in 1853—make out a very strong case for a law to regulate the sale of poisons throughout India, and of a very stringent kind. Poisons abound in every hedge-row, though the traditional and common poisons are not numerous. This, however, is a subject demanding and permitting of immediate legislative action.

As for other weapons and agents of crime, the information contained in this work is full and correct, and it becomes a question whether the *lathees*, swords, spears, halberds and bill-hooks, so universally in the hands of natives, might not be suppressed (except in so far as they are required for industrial purposes and defence against wild animals), and their possession rendered a criminal offence. As for the *lathee* and its congeners, the *banree* and *lohar-bundee*, these can only be used for purposes of offence or defence, and as at least one-half of the injuries which come under the cognizance of the police are caused by these weapons, it becomes an important question whether their possession does not encourage crimes of violence.* Dr. Chevers very truly writes:—

‘Notwithstanding the character for mildness of temper which they have gained from superficial observers, deceived by their manners, and unacquainted with their habits and customs of thought and action, the common people of India are scarcely less apt to conclude their quarrels by severe wounding than are the more impetuous denizens of European countries. This probably arises from the circumstance which has been more or less operative in determining nearly every homicide since the first—the readiness with which an offensive weapon always comes to hand. Few Bengalis are without a *lathee* (bamboo stick), *dao* (bill-hook), and perhaps a *codalee* (adze or large hoe), a *hussolee* (sickle), a *kollharree* (axe or latchet), and a *bullum* or *sain* (spear); and nearly every Hindustani has his sword and his iron-bound cudgel. The *gurassa* or

* The following remarks were penned by Sir J. P. Grant, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in his minute upon the Indigo Commission Report:—

“The same two members recommend the general disarming of all natives in Bengal, but without taking away clubs. The long heavy iron-bound club in use is a formidable lethal weapon; and a disarming in Bengal which would not touch the most common lethal weapon used in affrays, would be operative, I fear, only for harm. It would disarm the peaceable man, and allow the professional bravo of the country to carry his own peculiar arms. I would rather reverse the operation. I don’t see in the evidence anything to show that the mass of the people in Bengal, a quiet and well-behaved race, should be disarmed. I should like to see them much more ready and more stout in self-defence than they are. But I would disarm and punish the

hired clubmen, and I would punish all who employ them without exception of classes.”

The amount of lethal weapons which may be found in the possession of an Indian people, may be gathered from the following. Up to the 12th of February 1859 the results of the disarming of Oudh were:—

Cannon	...	...	378
Firearms	...	...	134,617
Swords	...	...	444,074
Spears	...	...	32,111
Miscellaneous arms	...	...	364,970
<hr/>			
Total	...	...	976,056

The arm-bearing population was estimated at two millions, and the work of disarming was expected to last for years. (*First Report on the Administration of Oudh.*)

The total number of weapons collected from a part of the Province of the Punjab in 1858-59 was 109,669. (*Administration Report for 1858-59.*)

gundrasa—a kind of bill or battle-axe—and the *koorpee*, or hoe, are common both in the North-West and in Bengal.' (p. 337.)

Other weapons are named and described elsewhere, and when we state that the beak of an adjutant is included amongst them, our readers will admit that the list is tolerably complete. The descriptions of injury caused by the several kinds of lethal weapons are correct, but scant justice has been done to the lathee-caused lesions, and the distinctions between them and other injuries of a contused character. More particularly, the lesions caused by wheels and conveyances in motion (not uncommon) are omitted, and the notice of gunshot wounds is very meagre. These latter are not so rare in civil practice, especially in some parts of the North-West and Punjab, as the author states (p. 452); and very interesting questions with regard to the relation between wound, weapon and ammunition, may in some cases be established. But crime does not often employ special lethal weapons, and when we read that it is a common practice in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories to pound the head and face with a stone, any attempt to work a reform by modifying or removing the agencies of criminal acts is not hopeful. Medical jurisprudence takes cognizance of every mode of violence which may extinguish life, whether it be of accidental, suicidal or homicidal origin. We, accordingly, find in this volume much interesting information on the injuries inflicted by wild animals, and some practical information on the distinction between these and other lesions. It is appalling how much life is yearly lost in Bengal by those means, and the statistics of the deaths by snake-

In the North-Western Provinces "under the operations of the Arms Act XXXVIII of 1857, 1,707,256 arms of all kinds were collected from a population of 14,306,428 male persons. The sorts of arms were as follows:—Ordnance 435, fire-arms 134,733, swords 711,017, spears 247,794, and daggers 509,777."

In 1859-60 it was calculated that about 1,432,906 weapons of all descriptions remained unsundered. Those surrendered were noted as—

Ordnance ...	...	795
Firearms ...	...	307,372
Swords ...	...	1,421,223
Spears ...	...	664,015
Daggers and other lethal weapons		1,215,275
Total		3,631,180

By Act XXXI of 1860 a man may be disarmed by a Magistrate or Police officer, "if in the judgment of such Magistrate or other officer it is dangerous to the public peace to allow such person to go armed or carry arms." The arms contemplated by this Act are firearms, bayonets, swords, daggers, spears and spear-heads, also percussion caps, sulphur, gunpowder, or other ammunition.

The building of the long swift boats used by dacoits on the Bengal rivers was prohibited. This is a good illustration of attacking crime though the means employed for its perpetration.

bite, which Dr. Fayrer is now collecting, are most startling (p. 370). The problem of prevention here is very perplexing, and the history of rewards for tigers, wolves, snakes, &c., a curious and disappointing one. It is to be feared that time, civilization and cultivation, are the only radical cure of this national curse, and even these agencies can hardly avail against poisonous snakes. Dr. Fayrer's labours are in this view highly philanthropic, though he has as yet failed to show grounds for one single species of effort of any promise.

The study of the *motives* of crime carry us deep into social problems of the intensest nicety. These may be of two sorts: extrinsic, or those derived from surrounding circumstances; and intrinsic, or those dependent on character, mental and moral organization; and these again depend on the modifications and tone of mental and moral states wrought in the individual and race by the attritions of the continuous existence of both. A very cursory glance through the book gives the impression that the sexual passions, and peculiar sexual institutions of India, supply motives for by far the majority of crimes of violence which occur in this country, and this impression is more than confirmed by a closer perusal of, and reflection upon its pages. This is a delicate topic, but it is a cardinal one and needs bold and plain handling. A squeamish prudery is misplaced where the subject demands exposure and reform. In a word, the feelings with which women are regarded by natives of India are gross and purely animal; the social sexual relations founded on them are barbarous; the marriage tie, not based as it ought to be on mutual love and esteem, of spontaneous and reciprocal growth, is painfully loose; the wife is a concubine, the widow too often a harlot. The child becomes a wife before the sexual passions are fully developed, and the widow who has them in full strength is barred from their gratification. Continence on the part of the male is a rare virtue, and on the part of the female a matter of restraint, watching and confinement. Even if this is not universally true—a position which it would be at once cruel and unjust to advance—the relations of the sexes in India are radically wrong, and fully account for the large share of this volume which treats of crimes of sexual origin, and the number of a variety of criminal practices and acts, attributable directly and indirectly to this source. Dr. Chevers does not mince matters. His first illustration of the crimes characteristic of the country is a murder “committed by the husband or paramour in a fit of jealousy.” (p. 2). “The belief in woman’s virtue,” it is said at page 6, “does not exist among the masses of India.” “Sexual jealousy is probably the most frequent cause of homicide among Musalmans; criminal abortion and child-murder are rife among the unhappy class of Hindu widows.” (p. 10)

"A man excited to madness by jealousy, or by *galee* (foul abuse), seizes a heavy weapon and with from five to twenty strokes literally hews his victim to pieces." (p. 346) "We have already seen that in a very large proportion of the recorded cases, this mode of death (hacking the neck) has been inflicted as the punishment of sexual crime suspected or discovered." (p. 390) "By far the larger proportion of murders of this kind (cut throat) which come under judicial and medical investigation in India, are to be traced to feelings of sexual jealousy and injured honour." (p. 417) Various kinds of mutilation and torture are traced to the same motives, more particularly cutting off the ears, nose and other members, in accordance with the maxim *Parte in god peccatur, in ed etiam punietur*. Instances of rape are said to be of great frequency in India. "In a country like India, where true morality is almost unknown, but where the laws of society exercise the most rigorous and vigilant control imaginable over the conduct of females, and where six-sevenths of the widows, whatever their age or position in life may be, are absolutely debarred from re-marriage, and are compelled to rely upon the uncertain support of their relatives, it is scarcely surprising that great crimes should be frequently practised to conceal the results of immorality, and that the procuring of criminal abortion should especially be an act of almost daily commission, and should have become a trade among certain of the lower midwives or *dhacees*." (p. 712.) These scraps have been culled from the book to show the general impression which the author's research and thought forced upon him, but almost every page contains one or more cases of barbarity or cruelty in which sexual passion or jealousy was the cause; and who can tell how many a poor erring wretch receives her quietus in the seclusion of the zenana by a dose of opium, arsenic or dhatura, for "loving not wisely but too well." The number of cases of strangulation and suffocation which are attributable to these causes, is very remarkable.

A very affecting note is appended at page 603, showing how the desire of a girl-wife to return to the house of her father and mother may arouse the husband to murderous fury. Refusal to permit sexual connection is another often assigned cause of murder; while killing the wife or paramour, or both, in cases of jealousy or adultery, is very common.

The precise shapes and results which the motive assumes and causes are as follows:—

1. *Rape*.—This is the purest manifestation of lawless and uncontrolled passion, and is owing to a deficient respect for woman and a deficient sense of the reason and objects of sexual union. How common the crime is in India, this volume attests; and the violation of children is not to be wondered at, however repulsive

the thought, when the espousal of infants is a social practice. It is refreshing indeed to read at page 687 of instances of womanly resistance, and the manifestation of the instinct of the defence of virtue—of rare occurrence, we fear, in the East.' The training of children as prostitutes, and the infamous practices of procuresses, do not come so immediately under medico-legal notice, but these are criminal practices which lurk under the quiet surface of rural social life. A note at page 6 alludes to this practice as associated with child-stealing, but we know that the same infamy is, even in the Lower Provinces, associated with child-selling.

2. *Unnatural crime.*—The reason of this monstrosity need not be specified, but its prevalence is strongly declared in the volume under notice. In a masterly speech before the Supreme Legislative Council, Mr. F. Stephen, the legal member, lately gave a masterly account of these practices, to which Dr. Chevers does not allude. The connection of unnatural crime with infanticide, which is an undoubted fact, has not been brought out so strongly as it might.

3. *Criminal abortion.*—This practice is most frequently resorted to in the case of Hindu widows, and the reason is plain. A very valuable note on the methods adopted for its procurement, by Baboo Kannylall Dey, is printed at page 715, in which two circumstances of the greatest importance are apparent: 1st, the fact that the methods employed for perpetrating the crime are chiefly mechanical; and 2nd, that, in order to get an insight into any Indian crime, it is necessary to prevail upon the professors of the practice to reveal the traditional, customary and, in many cases, hereditary modes of performing it. This, in fact, is the approver system, which has proved of such practical value in the case of thuggee and dacoity, and ought to be pursued in the treatment of all organized crime, such as infanticide, cattle poisoning, &c.

4. *Infanticide.*—This practice obtains under two sets of circumstances: 1st, in cases of illegitimacy when widows and their paramours are the instigators, and the sex of the victim is not of much moment in determining the crime; 2nd, in the case of female infants among Rajputs, Sikhs, Jats and some Muhammadan tribes. The motives to this crime are complex, though mainly, the small value and low estimate of the female sex, and the fear that women will bring disgrace on the family. This, we are convinced, is the essential reason of the crime, but other collateral feelings contribute, such as the expenses of marriage, the sense of being under a moral and pecuniary obligation to a son-in-law, who, aware of the disgrace entailed by religious and traditional feelings, upon a daughter's attaining puberty unmarried, practises upon the feelings of the father for purposes of extortion; the insane sense of honour which will not brook the thought of

a daughter marrying beneath her, or remaining unmarried ; and the conceit and exclusiveness of a small tribe or caste which disdains intermarriage with another. The law of population which provides for an excess of the female sex, coupled with the necessity of marriage before puberty, constitute another fundamental ground of infanticide. Polygamy also, as Dr. Chevers remarks, especially among the Kulin Brahmins, and polyandry, as among the Koonis, prompt to the crime, because both practices abolish a mutual and reciprocal sense in the parent of the duty of supporting the offspring. But irrepressible sexual passion in the male remains, and leads to two consequent crimes—child-stealing and barter, and unnatural crimes. How strange the “sense of honour,” which instigates and tolerates two of the worst and most unnatural crimes in the whole category. A very interesting paper by Mr. E. J. Atkinson, published in a volume of Selections by the Government of the North-West Provinces (Vol. III, No. II), to which Dr. Chevers does not allude, gives a good account of the motives and consequences of this crime, and the value of statistics in investigating it. The history of infanticide and the different methods applied for its suppression, as given by Dr. Chevers, is very meagre and sketchy, and the remark applies here, as in other parts of the book, that in place of a digest we have a series of entertaining scraps skilfully woven together. An outline of anything, if not exhaustive as to details, should be comprehensive as to leading facts and principles, and while the author cautions us against expecting a complete history of crime, we have every reason to look for a well-jointed and complete skeleton. This criticism applies to the account given of thuggee, dacoity, and the organized bands of robbers of the North West, the Punjab, and Central India.

5.—*Adultery, seduction and incest*—direct products of the sexual passion—do not come under the notice of the medical jurist, and are mentioned here only for the sake of completeness. The latter infamy is not unfrequent in Assam at the present time.

6.—*Prostitution* has a history and social importance in India which have not been as yet sufficiently realized or studied, and the experience of every medical man will confirm the assertion, which is proved by the imperfect statistics already gathered, more particularly in dispensaries, which go to show that syphilis is accountable for a vast amount of serious disease in India. To enter into the discussion of the questions of social reform suggested by these general remarks, would be to undertake a vast labour. The general aims are, however, very plain. They consist in raising woman, by education and a judicious relaxation of social restraint,—in elevating the social estimate of woman,—in permitting a girl to become a woman in the highest and complet-

est sense of the term before she becomes a wife or mother, and in sanctioning and encouraging widow-marriage. If these aims are steadily held in view and reduced to practice, the maxim of Manu "that at no time is woman fit to be trusted with liberty" will lapse, and woman will become a helpmeet for man, and will be valued and respected accordingly. The efforts of the Brahmoists to educate and raise woman are only second in importance to their acknowledgment of a single beneficent deity.

Sexual motives cover such a large area of the causation of crime, that the remainder can be more briefly disposed of.

Next in importance come motives connected with property. Both landed and personal property furnish abundant causes of criminal violence. As regards the first, the fights between rival zemindars or between zemindars and indigo-factories resulted, not many years ago, in many a broken skull and many a lost life. Owing to beneficent legislation and a more searching magisterial influence these have become things of the past ; but the loss of life and limb they occasioned, cannot be sufficiently appreciated from any written record. These transactions furnish a chapter in the history of crime in India which has not yet been written. The power of motives to violent deeds connected with land is painfully illustrated in Ireland, and exact parallels are to be found in the India of 1857. The factory assistant or zemindar's naib represented in India the obnoxious agent. Boundary quarrels still cause many a broken limb, scalp, or skull. Last hot weather we heard a Nuddea planter anxiously enquiring if a certain bheel were dry. On asking the reason of his anxiety, we were told that this bheel only became capable of cultivation in seasons of exceptional drought, and that when the time for reaping came, and the water still stood high, and the grass tufts which mark off the separate lots were not very easily determined, a "naval engagement" was certain to happen and a lot of skulls sure to be broken. The removal of boundary grass-plots is a great cause of *luthee* warfare, but the aggrieved are now beginning to resort to our courts of justice, more accessible and numerous than formerly. The social advantage of sub-divisions is, in this respect, immense, though still *luthee* war on ricefields in harvest is not rare. Dr. Chevers in connection with this mentions cattle-trespass, means of irrigation, water rights and fish-traps, as causes of fatal squabbles. The various cattle-pound laws, which are at this moment being consolidated and revised, tend to remove the first of these motives.

Personal property has been ever the motive of organized and individual robbery, and the practices of dacoity, thuggee, road-poisoning and marauding gangs have this as their object. Perhaps no more common or cruel feature than killing women and

children for the sake of their ornaments, which is so often illustrated in the book, exists in the annals of Indian crime. A great cause of robbery with violence is the practice of hoarding and concealing coin, and converting wealth into ornaments; and the establishment of Savings Banks has a deeper meaning as an agent of social reform than merely encouraging thrift and rendering the waste of hardly-earned and carefully-hoarded coin on marriages and *shrads* (funeral feasts) unnecessary. The treatment of thieves is one of the most interesting subjects taken up in the book. The lopping-off of the heads of wall-piercers is described very well in a note at page 389. At page 357 we are told the methods of disposing of thieves.

1.—A thief may be beheaded while in the act of committing a robbery.

2.—He may be captured, and then beheaded by the people of the house or village.

3.—He may die from wounds received in the act of committing a robbery; and his accomplices, unable to remove his body, may cut off the head to disguise it.

4.—Or, his accomplices may decapitate him while living.'

The torture and beating of thieves is elsewhere abundantly illustrated, and the practices of the police, so often alluded to and so completely exposed in the Report of the Madras Torture Commission, are only an index of the village Lynch law, and in consonance with the inclinations of the people. The appeal to constituted law is now happily becoming more understood and resorted to. The subject of road murder by poisoning is very instructively and exhaustively handled at pages 148-179. The crime is *still* very prevalent throughout India on all the main roads, more particularly those frequented by pilgrims. The grand trunk road has not yet lost its old reputation, and the traveller is still liable to the operations of professional miscreants who instead of accosting him with the *phansi* or strangulating bow-string, proffer pleasant companionship, and the fatal *sherbut* or sweet-meat containing largely the stupefying or fatal pounded *datoota*

Deeds of violence are often prompted by feelings of superstition and religion. As regards the former, the practices with regard to witchcraft, sorcery and *judu*, or demoniacal influence or possession, are abundantly exemplified. The author talks at page 6 of "wild and irradicable superstition" as a factor of crime. A valuable note at page 816 indicates where any one interested in this class of motives may obtain abundant material for study, and throughout the book attention to these superstitions and unusual motives is very properly recommended. Examples of murder and torture under the dominance

of a belief in witchcraft, and of the ordeal for witchcraft, are very numerous, and may be found scattered pretty numerously throughout the book. Nor is the influence of a degrading religion less marked in the causation of crime. A mythology, whose gods "delight in blood" (p. 812), and are represented as committing unnatural crime (p. 705), can only have one effect upon the mind of a people—moral obtuseness or actual degradation. "There is no country," Dr. Chevers remarks at page 810, "in which the line between *outrageous fanaticism* and *religious monomania* is so indistinct as we find it to be in India. Whether the religious impostor is knave or madman, or a compound of both, or whether superstitious enthusiasm, acting upon a weak mind and oriental imagination, may not occasionally prompt the rarely very scrupulous native to the commission of wild atrocities, are questions of no small difficulty which can only be decided by weighing carefully the facts of each case as it occurs."

The chapter on human sacrifice contains much curious and important information, and it is worthy of note that the author writes of *human sacrifice by decapitation* as an existing practice (p. 408), and says that there are "strong reasons for believing that there is scarcely a district in India in which human sacrifice is not still practised occasionally as a religious rite" (p. 410). Doubtless, the old sanguinary expiatory ideas still lurk in the breasts of the masses, and in face of impending famine or pestilence, when men's apprehensions are most deeply stirred, the offering of a human victim to the power which can inflict hunger or disease, instead of the usual goat or buffalo, is not a violent or unnatural step. Ideas of this nature, formulated under the terms sacrifice and atonement, are essential axioms in comparative religion, and their refinement is only to be hoped for as part and parcel of a refinement of national thought and habit. To this end, general education, and more particularly education in the physical sciences, and the fostering of a belief in general laws and a benevolent God, are the great and only means.

Some very interesting notes are thrown together with regard to the inhuman practices of carrion eating or cannibal Aghor-punts (p. 810). These monstrous perversions of human will are curious studies in psychology, and very extraordinary circumstances occasionally crop up which tend to show that anomalies in crime of this sort depend on some deeper motive than individual craze, or the loathsome abnormities of a particular sect of fanatic miscreants. We read in the report of the Madras Foujdary Adawlut for 1856, an account of a horrible tragedy which occurred in Trichinopoly:—"One case of murder was attended with circumstances so extraordinary as would almost have induced a belief in the

insanity of the prisoner but for the strong evidence to the contrary. The victim of this murder was a boy of sixteen, who was sitting close to the high road when the prisoner came up to him, caught hold of him by the lock of hair at the back of his head, dragged him a short distance, severed the head from the body, and drank the warm blood of his victim. The second witness, a lad of the same age as the deceased, ran horrified to the village which was close by, and gave the alarm. The third, fourth and fifth witnesses immediately came to the spot and endeavoured to capture the prisoner; he threatened them with the bill-hook he still held in his hand, as they went for further assistance. On their return, they found the prisoner cutting the head of the deceased open, and eating the brains. On the witnesses again approaching, the prisoner fled, leaving the bill-hook behind, but keeping hold of the deceased's head which he subsequently threw at the fifth witness." We are not told what the caste and occupation of this cannibal was. Within the last twelve months we have read of a young Musalman eating the brains and liver of his dying father, and heard of a Brahman of Seeb-saugor gnawing the face a man who interrupted his prayers at the instigation of Siva. There is something in these cases which we commend to Dr. Chevers' notice. They abundantly justify his dicta at page 820, that "what may appear to the European observer as absolutely irrational *singularity of conduct* on the part of a native, is not to be viewed as insanity, except upon a full consideration of the customs and modes of thinking of the natives, as well as of the minute details of the particular cases under scrutiny;" that, "although all human desires probably tend towards nearly the same objects, the purposes of a native are wont to be effected by trains of thought and action so utterly dissimilar to those by which our own are wrought out that we must not always expect to be able to follow him in his mental operations, or allow ourselves to charge him with madness when his singularity or his craft takes his conduct somewhat beyond the scrutiny of our reason." If we would administer righteous judgment and justice, we must master these trains of thought; and, if we would radically reform the people, we must chasten them and supplant them with rational views of social obligation. Here is the spring and fountain head of crime, and this must be cleansed, if we would have the stream of life and social habit pure.

Beyond these influences, there lies a field of insufficient or perverted motives, and motives modified by drugs, intoxication, congregational excitement, and a want of all motive which leads us to the domain of pure insanity. On all of these subjects, Dr. Chevers is full and thoughtful. Want of space forbids us to follow him into this profoundly interesting territory, and we can only

commend it to the study of our readers. The illustrations which he gives of men running 'amok,' "revenging themselves on mankind in general," and after satiating their vengeance "continuing their havoc upon unoffending persons," are many and important. Dr. Chevers thinks that "carefully sifted, it is probable that the generality of these cases would be found to be dependent upon the use of intoxicating drugs." Then comes the practical question of responsibility, and on this subject there can be only one opinion—that the man who nerves himself to deeds of blood with hemp or opium, or by the habitual use of these drugs paralyses his sense of the sacredness of human life, merits no mercy at the hand of law. Even in the case of violence committed under the influence of severe pain or delirium, it would be dangerous to society to establish the precedent that homicide in such circumstances is excusable. (p. 801.) Natives of this country are very ready to grasp at plausible defences of unjustifiable deeds. On the other hand, punishment for motiveless deeds, if the proof is clear and the will of the individual is uncontrollably held by influences not of the culprit's own seeking, can never redound to the credit of law, or prove of social advantage. The author very reasonably urges that many of the acts committed on trivial motives are probably really due to others of a more serious nature, which are concealed from a false sense of honour and dread of exposure (p. 429); of this sort, doubtless, are the murders of wives for "refusing to prepare tobacco," "delay in giving water to drink," "not giving him a light for his cheroot," "kicking the dish which held his food," &c. &c.

After all the influences determining to crime, depending on a man's surroundings and the social conditions under which he lives, have been told, there still remains a study of the man himself—what he is by nature, inherited disposition and education, in other words, a study of the national characteristics which may predispose him to criminal acts. Dr. Chevers has not overlooked them. They are—disregard of the value of human life, slavish adherence to custom, timidity including guile, evasiveness, plausible placidity, a sneaking yielding to moral or physical force, want of principle or straightforward means of attaining ends, untruthfulness, irritability, sensuality, supersitition, &c.

The causes to which these characteristics may be traced, are not far to seek. They are in short the uncertainty of life and the small importance of individuals as units in the community.

The uncertainty of life in India is an indisputable fact, and the constant sacrifice of life is greater than it is in Europe. Disease and famine are ever liable to sweep off thousands of mortals. Fever, small-pox, cholera, a cyclone wave, a drought, an inundation, or a famine may decimate a village, district or province. Wild beasts and snakes cause thousands of deaths yearly; sudden storms may

cause the destruction of travellers by water, and lightning strokes number their victims by scores. A strong and well-minded government holds back the arm of war and prevents the forays of hill tribes and marauders; but history tells us that this third agent of wholesale death added formerly its quota of yearly victims to the ravages of pestilence and death. Illustrations of the small esteem in which human life is held, abound in this book. The wholesale murders, the hacking of corpses, the murdering of wife, (p. 388) or child (p. 350) for the purpose of imputing the deed to another, the wounding of self for the same end; the committing of suicide on account of a stomach-ache, or some paltry chagrin—all indicate this dominant feeling. Measures which tend to remove this uncertainty—sanitation, medical care, political and social security—derive from this consideration a new value.

A very practical point hinges on this want of a proper sense of the value of life—namely the importance as evidence of “dying declarations.” We subscribe most entirely to all that Dr. Chevers writes on the subject.

‘While it may be questionable whether, even in the most enlightened mind, all hope of recovery can always be dispelled by the sense of immediately impending death, and whether in the surprise, the excitement, the agony, the confusion, and the failing consciousness which result from the infliction of a deadly injury, the judgment and the passions can be sufficiently calm for the delivery of a testimony which deserves to be received hereafter as absolutely and unimpeachably true,—especially when it may be doubted whether the wounded person is not utterly unprincipled and false by habit; it is fortunate that this ancient legal superstition has not been brought to bear upon a people who have, in repeated instances, committed murder, and even suicide, with the design of bringing down present and eternal punishment upon an enemy, who do not recognise veracity as a principle of morality, and who almost invariably answer as they believe that they are expected to answer; who meet inevitable death with an apathy which has been mistaken for stoicism, but whose cry of—“I am dying, I am dying! Death, Death!”—is almost daily evoked by ordinary circumstances of misfortune or pain.”

Then, as regards the importance of individuals in the social system, every measure and law which tend to enhance the social weight of individuals, education, encouragements of agriculture and commerce, cautious concessions towards self-government—these all tend to enhance the appreciation of life, and in the same degree to diminish deeds of violence or outrage. More emphatically, the raising of the status of women is, in the face of the considerations above adduced, an imperative social necessity. The influence of *custom* in the perpetration of crime is

demonstrated at page 11, and Mr. John Strachey's remarks, quoted at page 577, with regard to infanticide, illustrate the strength of this peculiarity of national and social life. As a general principle, the feature of repetition is a sign of low mental status, and the influence of the incessant inheritance and reproduction of rude, lawless and unenlightened modes of thought and life, in keeping alive criminal tendencies, is unquestionable. Adaptiveness is, on the other hand, a sign of the higher mental and social life, and the only conservatism that is legitimate, is the conservatism of purity, high aspirations and lofty social aims and habits. Unfortunately in India caste prejudices mean a conservatism of superstition, ignorance, exclusiveness, and of feelings and habits inconsistent with an advanced civilization, and the sooner the irrational cry of "let it alone" is smothered, the better.

Dr. Chevers remarks (p. 2) that "various as are the modes of effecting and of concealing crime in different countries, a large experience will always show that a really new crime is an unexampled event in the criminal annals of any land." This amounts to saying that human nature is the same everywhere, and that differences in country, climate, race and social conditions modify the essential and fundamental criminal tendencies of mankind only as regards means and motives—the details of crime. This general principle shadows forth the groundwork of the science of jurisprudence, and the more repetitive the character of a people, the more valuable, in a scientific or previsionary aspect, the record of their acts, whether criminal or not. That overt acts are an index of thought and character is a mere truism, but an invaluable one in all psychological enquiries.

The timidity of the population of India is, in part, a sign of physical feebleness and, in part, of moral weakness. This trait is not inconsistent with the ferocity which is often manifested against the weak and unprotected. "The manner in which often," Dr. Chevers writes at page 451, "a crowd of Bengalis fall upon a victim of their displeasure, and beat and tear him into pieces with sticks, fists, feet, hands and any weapon which may happen to have been brought or caught up, until the body lies in the midst of them, a mere bloody, featureless, disjointed, broken mass, is scarcely characteristic of the reputed mildness of the national character." The details of hacking women, children and defenceless men, fall under the same law. Timidity engenders a nervousness, irritability, rapid resentment, suspicion, cunning, want of mental tone or power, which it is difficult to understand. On the physical peculiarities of the Bengali, Dr. Chevers has some very just remarks :—

'The Bengali lives upon a plain diet, in which a very small proportion of nitrogenous material is contained, but his food is often

scanty in quantity, and probably consists of the worst kind of rice, fish, lentils; he works hard, he is badly lodged and badly clothed; he is greatly exposed to severe vicissitudes of temperature; he is, perhaps, an opium-eater or ganjah-smoker, and is probably a drunkard, consuming the worst of all spirituous liquors in large quantities; scurvy very often lurks in his system; his internal organs have suffered more or less in structure from the above causes. His body is lean and anemiated; he has been habituated to sexual excess from his boyhood, and if the inhabitant of a town, he probably suffered from syphilis and from the use of mercury employed with the most reckless carelessness.' (p. 524)

Add to this malarious and miasmatic influences, the depressing effect of frequent fevers and early marriages, and the causes of physical degeneration have been all told. The stolidity and placidity of the native of India are an evidence rather of the constitutional debility which precludes a rational or acute interest in life, enterprise or departure from habit, than the masterly inactivity which proceeds from a consciousness of strength. Improve the physical vigour of the native of India, and infuse a strong mental tone, and the vindictiveness, untruthfulness, cunning, fraud and deceit, will disappear under the influence of improved social conditions and a healthier social life.

Dr. Chevers is careful to guard the reader against "the most facile and the most fatal error into which delineations of national character have fallen in all ages—that of representing prevalent crimes as national customs" (preface, p. iii), and insists that the graphic sketches which he quotes from the masterly pens of Mackintosh and Macaulay, descriptive of the character of the Rajput and Bengali, have "been taken from the same stand-point—the road which leads "to the jail." This is very true, but the elements which combine to produce criminals and criminal acts are deeply interwoven in the character and social life of a people, and these very criminal acts are the most prominent and pronounced expressions of the features of character and social life, and furnish a principal share in the induction from which general notions of the character of a race or nation are formed, and thought taken for social amelioration. The bright side of national character is to be sought for in industry, commerce, family happiness, social quietude, the care of the sick and poor, hospitality, charity, earnest and rational religion, enlightened self-government, conformance to law, cleanliness of person and habitations, and so on; but the character written on the road to the jail is at once the most telling and useful. Would that in India we had only for contemplation and admiration well-tilled fields, generous landlords and contented peasants, well-filled granaries, empty courts, a pure and rational worship, manufactories, rivers bearing produce to supply

the wants of other lands, road and rail contributing to the same end, affectionate and continent husbands, educated, industrious and intelligent wives, schools, play-grounds, places of harmless amusement, dispensaries and almshouses; and no riots, land disputes, jealousies, prostitution, jails, hangings, dirty cities, pestilential swamps, indecent and noisy worship of malevolent deities, and the host of other national frailties so faithfully reproduced in this volume. So long as things remain as they are, we cannot afford to lose the "strong and untremulous hand which dares to lay bare unhesitatingly the vices of society."

We have thus, by accepting the author's declared aims while following an arrangement of our own, subjected this volume to a somewhat severe test; and the conclusion which every reader must form is, that it supplies a positive want, and must prove of the greatest value to the technical medical jurist and the social reformer. Many details might have been compressed, more particularly long newspaper reports which are hardly suited to a purely scientific work, and other subjects might have been treated more comprehensively and systematically; but, as it is, the volume is a splendid repertory of most important social facts available largely for purposes of social reforms. Its shape and get-up are creditable to the enterprise of the publishers, though the numerous misprints, besides those noticed in the long list of *errata*, evidence some hurry in its issue or carelessness in its revision. These are, however, trivial, and the work reflects the greatest honour alike on its author and its publishers. We hope, not so much for the sake of the industry, talent and philanthropy of the author and the public spirit of the publishers, as for the public good, that the work will find a place in the library of every judge, magistrate, civil surgeon and police officer, in India.

ART. III.—THE PROBLEM OF CIVILIZATION IN INDIA.

BY the recognition of the truth that political and social events are the data and facts of a natural science, subordinate in their sequence to a law of cause and effect, the actual condition of every separate community of people, with its relation to the past on the one hand and to the future on the other, has been converted into a possible subject of scientific investigation. India of the present day, just consolidated into a vast empire under English rule, affords a singularly well-marked field for such an inquiry, but the labour incidental to it would be enormous, and probably sufficient materials do not as yet exist in a prepared state to enable any one man to carry it out with completeness. There are, however, circumstances connected with the situation of the people of this country relative to their governors, which admit of being classed in a group by themselves, and seem to have importance enough to challenge something more than passing observation. An attempt to possess ourselves of their true significance may not be without interest.

The affairs of this country are administered, and the public interests of the people are cared for, by a body of foreigners whose civilization manifestly differs from that of the governed, and is, without the possibility of question, considerably in advance of it. So much the better undoubtedly for the subject people, as far as the operation of State rule can legitimately extend. But there is a point beyond which it cannot reach, if at all, without doing mischief; and that point lies very little below the uppermost surface of society. We need hardly remark that in all cases where the Government is the creation of the people themselves, and subject to their control, the degree of enlightenment which it displays in its action may be safely enough taken as an index of the general condition of the community at large. The Government is then only the highest result of the natural social forces active in the country, and must correspond intimately with all other of their manifestations. But that is clearly not so in the case before us. Here, the Government is essentially foreign, motivated from abroad, while the state of indigenous society is necessarily the product of home influences, over which the Government has no direct control, and with which it is not in any immediate relation. Whether this country is to advance in a career of progressive civilization or not must depend solely upon the nature and activity of these influences.

NOTE.—The substance of this paper was delivered at the Bethune Society formed the subject of a lecture which a few months ago.

This is an affair in which the foreign governing class is very nearly powerless. It rests, we may say, entirely with the people themselves.

We would especially direct the attention of our native readers to this point, because it is certain that the Oriental mind is prone to entertain exaggerated notions as to the powers and capabilities of the State in all respects, and the individual members of an Indian community are little apt at realizing a sense of their own responsibilities relative to matters of public welfare. It would be an unfortunate mistake on their part, if, on a survey of the great works effected under English rule in India, they flattered themselves into a belief that their country had attained the civilization of which these are distinctive features. Mr. Buckle has demonstrated very completely the frailty of this sort of reasoning by the example which he has drawn from the history of Spain. It is impossible to condense his narrative, without seriously impairing its force, but a few extracts from it will serve to exhibit the relevancy of Mr. Buckle's argument to our present topic. After describing graphically the "darkness and apathy of the Spanish nation" prevailing in the beginning of the eighteenth century, he says:—"The only remedy for this seemed to be foreign aid, and Spain "being now ruled by a foreign dynasty that aid was called in." He then mentions some of the more prominent educational measures of the Government and continues:—"Many other—" and similar steps were taken by the Government, whose indefatigable exertions would deserve our warmest praise, if we "did not know how impossible it is for any Government to 'enlighten a nation, and how absolutely essential it is that the 'desire for improvement should in the first place proceed from the 'people themselves. No progress is real, unless it is spontaneous. "The movement, to be effective, must emanate from within, and not 'from without; it must be due to general causes acting on the 'whole country, and not to the mere will of a few powerful individuals. During the eighteenth century all the means of improvement were lavishly supplied to the Spaniards, but the 'Spaniards did not want to improve. They were satisfied 'with themselves; they were sure of the accuracy of their own 'opinions; they were proud of the notions which they inherited, "and which they did not wish either to increase or to diminish. "Being unable to doubt, they were therefore unable to enquire."

And finally Mr. Buckle, in the course of recapitulating the principal facts previously detailed by him, says:—

"If we now review the transactions which I have narrated, and "consider them as a whole, extending from the accession of Philip "V to the death of Charles III, over a period of nearly ninety "years, we shall be struck with wonder at their unity, at the regu-

"larity of their march, and at their apparent success. Looking at them merely in a political point of view, it may be doubted if such vast and uninterrupted progress has ever been seen in any country either before or since. For three generations there was no pause on the part of the Government—not one re-action, not one sign of halting. Improvement upon improvement and reform upon reform followed each other in quick succession. * * * These would have been great deeds in any country; in such a country as Spain they were marvellous. Of them I have given an abridged and therefore an imperfect account, but still sufficient to show how the Government laboured to diminish superstition, to check bigotry, to stimulate intellect, to promote industry, and to rouse the people from their death-like slumber. * * * They who believe that a Government can civilize a nation, and that legislators are the cause of social progress, will naturally expect that Spain reaped permanent benefit from those liberal maxims which now for the first time were put into execution."

Before we proceed to give Mr. Buckle's comparison how far actual events corresponded with this hypothetical expectation, it will be well to ask, How would these passages read if "India" were put therein for "Spain," and the "nineteenth" for the "eighteenth" century? Would the verisimilitude of the picture be altogether destroyed by the change of subject? If not—if the results of English rule for the last eighty or ninety years in India are in any degree co-ordinate with the Spanish events of Mr. Buckle's narrative, then the conclusions immediately enunciated by that most able writer have a significance for the people of this country which cannot be too carefully borne in mind. These are his words:—

"The fact, however, is that such a policy, wise as it appeared, was of no avail, simply because it ran counter to the whole train of preceding circumstances. It was opposed to the habits of the national mind, and was introduced into a state of society not yet ripe for it. No reform can produce real good, unless it is the work of public opinion, and unless the people themselves take the initiative. In Spain, during the eighteenth century, foreign influence, and the complications of foreign politics, bestowed enlightened rulers upon an unenlightened country. The consequence was that for a time great things were done. Evils were removed; grievances were redressed; many important improvements were introduced; and a spirit of toleration was exhibited such as had never before been seen in that priest-ridden and superstitious land. But the mind of Spain was untouched. While the surface, and, as it were, the symptoms of affairs were ameliorated, affairs themselves remained unchanged. Below that surface, and far out of the reach of any political remedy.

"large general causes were at work, which had been operating for many centuries, and which were sure, sooner or later, to force politicians to re-trace their steps, and compel them to inaugurate a policy which would suit the traditions of the country and harmonize with the circumstances under which those traditions had been formed. At length the re-action came. In 1788, Charles III died and was succeeded by Charles IV. * * It was now seen how insecure everything was, and how little reliance can be placed on reforms, which, instead of being suggested by the people, are bestowed on them by the political classes. Charles IV, though a weak and contemptible prince, was so supported in his general views by the feelings of the Spanish nation that in less than five years he was able completely to reverse that liberal policy which it had taken three generations of statesmen to build up. In less than five years everything was changed."

The foregoing extracts appear to be so pregnant with interest to all in this country, as well Europeans as Natives, that we make no apology for having produced them at such length as we have. In view of them we are prompted to enquire, What is the state of things here? What, after making due allowance for phenomena which are properly attributable to Government action, remains as the true condition of the social body? What, in short, is the existing civilization of the people? The complete answer to this question would be a book of no small dimensions, a history which we have no intention of approaching. In M. Guizot's *Civilization de l'Europe*, the definition alone of the term 'civilization', notwithstanding the author's analytical power and precision of language, occupies the whole of the first lecture! But, even without pretending to touch the hem of the formidable task, which an enquiry of this kind would constitute, we can direct attention to one or two points in the social economy of this country which may indicate a means of testing the vitality of its civilization, may lead to the detection of its principles of growth, and may serve to measure them in comparison with the civilization of the West.

* Let us, then, first recall some of the essential elements of European civilization. In England, for instance, the diffusion of material well-being among the population, the amount of accumulated wealth in the shape of furniture, table-ware (by which we mean glass, cutlery, porcelain, &c.), clothing, linen and so on, which is almost universally in daily and hourly use, not merely kept for great occasions, is certainly a most prominent matter of observation. Considerable amenity of manners and habits of life prevails low down in the social scale. Female elegance and refinement of thought, makes its influence felt as well outside as inside the house, and all social intercourse is governed by it. We appeal confidently to those native gentlemen who have visited

England to say how pleasant are the ways of English country-life, be the establishment never so homely. Classes whose occupation is menial or laborious, are not without some degree of cultivation, and it is seldom even that the agricultural peasant (commonly the poorest among the poor) has not his Bible and perhaps two or three other books on a corner shelf of his room. There is, doubtless, poverty enough to be witnessed, and ignorance too, to sadden the heart of the most careless observer, and to demonstrate that the social machine is somewhere out of gear, but the fact remains that the great bulk of the people enjoy the benefits of substance and of information. Again, the dominant tone of thought in all classes is free; there is but little of subserviency, or of timid deference, to authority. And the intellectual achievements of the leading men of England in science, literature and politics, are sufficient to prove that in her case the march of intellectual development has been parallel with that of material prosperity. Religion must not be omitted from our account. It is of course generically Christian; but, even within this province, liberty of thought has asserted itself by the creation of such numerous shades of belief, chequering the very floor of the Established Church itself, that no one among them is powerful enough to claim and challenge dominion; and the same cause prevents them from becoming stereotyped into permanent forms. In spite of the common tendency of their professors to insist on finality of dogma, it cannot seriously be questioned that they do, practically, accommodate themselves to the thought of the day. In short, it may be said that the civilization of England exhibits remarkable material prosperity, and is everywhere, be the area religious or secular, characterized by *conflict of interest, a free spirit of inquiry, and energy of physical and intellectual action*. And this holds true in a greater or less degree of the other leading countries of Europe.

To what extent are these three elements ingredients in the social fabric of this country? We do not propose to recommend, even by implication, that the people of India or of Bengal should set themselves to copy European manners and habits of life. Nations cannot take over a civilization second-hand as a garment. They must make it for themselves out of their own stuff. But what we mean to assert is this, that the civilization of India or of Bengal, select your community as you may, will not entitle its people to any creditable place among nations, unless and until such principles of growth and development as those just mentioned can be found in it. Are they to be found therein now? How far, for instance, does a free spirit of sober earnest inquiry prevail within the more important circles of society? Is energetic activity, physical and intellectual, anywhere so manifested as to constitute a national feature? And if these questions cannot be answered in the affirm-

ative, we are driven to ask whether Mr. Buckle's words are applicable: are we to assume that the people "are satisfied with themselves; they are sure of the accuracy of their opinions; they are proud of the notions which they have inherited, and they do not wish either to increase or to diminish them. Unable to doubt, they are therefore unwilling to enquire."

This matter seems to deserve more careful discussion than our pages can afford. It is not a little noteworthy that the language which is here used is personal; the predicates are "you" and "they." A whole people is spoken of under a personal pronoun "you do this," or "they think that," as if there was but one mind for all the constituent individuals. And this mode of expression is almost entirely accurate. It is surprising, on reflection, to discover how extremely small is the amount of original thought manifested in any given person among us. We acquire the great bulk of our opinions and sentiments from our associates, unconsciously, without exercise of an appreciable discrimination. Our parents, teachers and companions hand over to us our moral and intellectual furniture, just as they themselves received it from the generation which preceded them. How few of us ever question the foundations of the creed which we are taught to regard as of more momentous import to us than aught else in the world; or, if we do enquire, in what matter do we conduct the investigation? How often do we convince ourselves that we have been wrongly trained? Is it not safe to affirm that, with exceptions too infinitesimal in number to need being taken account of, we are Hindus, Muhammadans, or Christians, according to the persuasion of those among whom our days of infancy were passed? In truth, the existence of specific distinctions in national manners and customs is but a marked expression of this social law. Still, new opinions do arise and become diffused. Better information is obtained and communicated; individuals observe, discover, demonstrate; and in the end their demonstrations get accepted by gradually widening circles of the community. Thus, in the phenomena of society as in other departments of natural history, there is a law of inheritance, accompanied by a principle of variation; and it is on the activity of the latter element that the progress of civilization depends. It is by the accretion from time to time of new ideas, and added knowledge to the old stores, and by the consequent obliteration therefrom of the obsolete and the erroneous, that national advance is effected. In this each member of society bears his part. There is certainly no conceivable reason, *a priori*, why the men of the present day should not be able to think and to act as well as their forefathers; they have at least the advantage of their forefathers' work as a foundation upon which to build, and therefore whatever honest work they do, must be an addition to the public welfare. In truth,

those are false to their generation and their country who sit down in indolence, and comfort themselves with the reflection that they can in nothing improve upon the wisdom of their ancestors. And, surely, it should be shame to us of these days to confess that, though the men from whom we are sprung could in the dawn of civilization do excellently well, we, taught by their lessons and strengthened by their work, can do nothing. Yet this seems to be but too universally the social creed of the Oriental. It is time, at any rate, for the Bengali to understand that the business of elevating the tone of society, diffusing trustworthy information and propagating enlightened opinions is the business of everyone. Unless it be done, the country must stagnate in spite of all the advantages of European rule. No one can do it, but the people themselves. 'Self-help,' in this case, is not an inferior alternative ; it is the only course.

There are two means which are specially effective for supporting the vigour of the social system, and increasing its intrinsic powers of development by the introduction of new material. These are, religion and education. Or rather, to speak more correctly, they are parts of one instrument, and should be termed teaching, religious and secular. It is through these channels alone that the springs of national thought and action can be reached and affected. And by them each individual member of society may make himself appreciably influential if he chooses. We refer here to religion merely in its politico-economical aspects. It will be admitted by all that there is, in the practical religion of the masses of this country, an amount of superstition which is pernicious to the best interests of society. It is not merely a dead weight of ignorance retardative of intellectual action, but it is so obstructive in the restriction which it imposes upon the freedom of industry, that it is almost impossible the country should make any substantial progress until it is reformed. Now with all the tendency of orientals to look to Government for aid in their difficulties, assuredly they will not do so here. And it might be added that no government—no foreigner—could aid them, if they did. Nor can the intelligent portion of the community view this matter with indifference. It would be irrelevant to speculate whether a country could succeed in attaining any high position in the career of humanity without a religion operative among the people, because the people of this country are everywhere most earnest in the profession of one form or another of belief. What does concern every member of the community is, to do his best that the actual religion be purged of ingredients which are deleterious to society, and this he can only do by making his own faith the object of most serious consideration. If every one would form his convictions with conscientious deliberation, and boldly avow them

when formed, real service of incalculable value would be done to the country. We would say to the rising generation :—Free yourselves from the moral cowardice which tempts adherence to appearances that are hollow ; spread by your example the effective operation of those principles which your best endeavours after truth may have led you to adopt ; so will you act the part of honest men, and escape the culpability which attaches to all who shelter themselves behind pretences. We assert advisedly that the educated men of this country at the present time have unusual cause to be earnest in the matter of their religion. And it may be gravely questioned, whether they yet, as a body, have realized their responsibilities in this respect. They would seem to need reminding that almost universally in modern history the awaking of the intellect of the people has been first manifested by a religious reformation. Doubtless, a religious movement is to some extent actually taking place among the people, and it is impossible for a Christian not to regard it with the greatest interest. Hitherto, the religion of all the countries which have attained the highest civilization, has been some form or another of Christianity, and clearly this circumstance is not merely matter of accident. The principles of living, and the motives to intellectual activity, which are characteristic of Christianity, must necessarily have place in any advanced progressive civilization : and as yet no other form of religious faith has developed them to an equal extent, or exhibited them in so practical a shape. The leading religious reformers of Bengal very manifestly recognize this fact, and therefore endeavour to take over the Christian moral and ethical code without the peculiar anthropomorphic theology with which it is most intimately associated. This is a remarkable experiment, and it yet remains to be seen whether a religion for the *people* can be fashioned in this way. There can be no doubt that it is to the anthropomorphism, which enters so largely into the Christian conception of the deity, that Christianity owes its influence and popularity with the uneducated masses in those countries where it prevails ; while the abstract and spiritual element also involved in it, commands the allegiance of cultured intelligence. It may be questioned whether, if these parts be severed, any great vitality will remain in either ? At any rate, it is scarcely possible to believe that, by the indigent and long suffering millions of this land, a religion less anthropomorphic than that which is needed to satisfy the cravings of Western populations will speedily be accepted in lieu of one of the most material faiths in the world. The example of Buddhism may perhaps be appealed to on the other side, but if so, the answer is, that Buddhism broke down in India before the advance of an exaggerated materialism, developed out of the very creed which it had professed to reform. The conclusion appears to

be unavoidable, that up to this time the task of reforming the religion of the *people* is, practically speaking, untouched. We do not pretend to hazard a guess as to the way in which it will eventually be approached. Necessarily, it must be worked out from within, and our sole object is to point out that at present it is a duty unfulfilled.

Let us now turn our attention for a few moments towards the second of the above-mentioned two means of national development, namely, secular teaching. Of some sort there is doubtless plenty of it to be seen in the country, and so there was in the Spain of Mr. Buckle's narrative. It has also borne notable fruit in the shape of some few scholars and still fewer men of science. But the question for us is, What is it effecting with the people? It may be, as regards the inner life and feelings of the people, altogether external, artificial, producing at the best a species of social veneer. Or it may be, even though foreign in its inception, both creating and meeting an appetite for that which is an element in the grain and substance of society. We fear that there is quite as much of the former as of the latter character in its action.

The higher University education appears to be, to a considerable degree, hollow in its general results. So far as regards the professions of law and medicine, the University supplies good information, sufficient to furnish on the average a very fair standard of practitioner. But the demand which governs this supply does not come from the people: it is essentially bureaucratic, and would probably in a great degree, if not altogether, disappear, if the governing power ceased to be European. The same may be said also of the effect of higher English education on the *keranee* classes generally. It does not appear that any number of young men significant enough to be termed a section of society, as yet seek academical education for the sake solely of the culture which it affords. The wealthiest and socially most influential classes scarcely seek it all for any purpose, and the instances in which men have been led by their academic course to even a tolerable mastery of any branch of learning or science are few indeed. Students, undoubtedly, abound who exhibit very great aptitude at getting up text books, and reproducing the matter thereof in specie, but they seldom, if ever, manifest any of that forwardness to put the subject of study into a new shape which is the truest symptom that principles have been grasped by the mind. Of course the diffusion of even a superficial knowledge of Western literature and science produces its effect upon the individual recipients, and through them upon the general tone of thought of society. But this, such as it is, appears to be almost entirely exotic in its character, and probably, with a partial exception, would speedily die out if the European forcing apparatus were removed. The exception is to be found in the

field of religious thought. The rationalism intrinsic to the knowledge of history and science which obtains in Europe, although it has for various reasons made but slow progress in England, was seized upon with avidity by the quick intellect of Bengal, and has now become one of the internal forces of native society. It is impossible to predict what will be the precise nature of the change which it will eventually work throughout the country at large, but it may safely be assumed that henceforward it will always be a most important ingredient in the national civilization. Unfortunately, the emancipation from certain restraints of social opinion, which necessarily accompanied the growth of freedom of thought in religious matters, has given play to temptations which a considerable number of the younger men have failed to resist. Inflated pretensions and vicious habits, properly attributable to this cause, and simply indicative of want of education, are, with much show of reason, pointed at by those "proud of the notions they have inherited," as being the natural products of the newly introduced European civilization. It would be an undertaking too large for these pages to enquire particularly wherein consists the infirmity of the so-called higher-class English education. Probably, if pursued, such an enquiry would lead to the conclusion that the fault lies partly with the existing system of public instruction, and partly (in a much greater degree) with the deficiency at home of educating elements, the place of which cannot be supplied by any substitute. And it is most important for the right understanding of the present condition of the higher education in this presidency to remember that, whatever may be the merits of the academy in itself, it cannot, as a rule, produce any but hollow and unsubstantial results, unless the pupil comes to it properly prepared. In short, it is early training and the education and influence of home associations that in the vast majority of instances governs the ultimate character of the man's moral and intellectual culture. It may be confidently asserted that the educational activity apparent throughout this land, will remain foreign and external until it reaches the family centre. It is in the home-life which moulds the mind and disposition of the future man, that the excellence of English civilization is found; and it is precisely here that the civilization of India has its rudest features. There is something more than incongruity between the enlightenment of young Bengal, and that primitive world of naked children, uncultured semi-clad women and superstitious servants, which commonly exists behind the purdah of the zenana. As long as the former rests upon no better basis than that which the latter affords, it must necessarily be false in essence and tone.

The despotism of social convention is everywhere almost irresistible; and in view of the constitution of the household in the best

native families, it cannot be matter of wonder that individual gentlemen, even of considerable English culture, find themselves powerless to introduce any effective means of education into the inner apartments. The utmost that has yet been done in this direction appears hardly to be such as possesses any self-developing force. Accomplishments, very becoming and important in a well-educated woman who has a real part to take in society, and a smattering of elementary information in history and geography by themselves, are insignificant as educating agents. At best they can be considered as little more than pastime for those whose minds and hands are otherwise unemployed. Indirectly, however, they prove useful to the cause of true educational progress, for, with the diffusion of these things, there must gradually grow up among the female members of the better classes a consciousness that woman's culture is not what it ought to be; and when dissatisfaction with social rules is heartily felt behind the purdah as well as in front, it is not rash to predict that a modification of those rules will speedily take place.

It is a misfortune that those whose voices and opinions are influential in native society, know almost nothing of the inner life of English households. It is still more unfortunate that their minds are very largely pervaded with notions as to the Englishwoman's character, which are altogether erroneous. While we deplore this, we cannot in reason be surprised that persons whose materials for forming a judgment in this matter are limited to satires reprinted from the *Saturday Review*, and the scenes which are presented to them in public balls, of fashionably uncovered young women gyrating in the arms of young men, somewhat indiscriminately, through the rapid evolutions of the waltz, should form a not very exalted estimate of the modesty of English gentlewomen. All narrow and false views so generated would, however, be dissipated, and a true stimulus given to the progress of sound education within the domestic circle of native families, if native gentlemen were received more generally than they now are in familiar social intercourse by English residents of the higher classes in this country. It is, not our purpose at this time to enquire into the causes which still prevail to keep the educated native and the Englishman widely apart. We desire only to mark the fact, that although Englishmen have now for a considerable period had homes in this land, the example they afford of domestic manners and refinement of female society which distinguish Western civilization, has hitherto been of inappreciable effect in influencing the course of Indian civilization.

Throughout the middle and lower middle classes of the country the existing system of instruction is spreading an amount of elementary information, which cannot fail ultimately to produce

important consequences in regard to the mental condition of those classes. The great masses of the community, however, seem to be still unaffected by any educational effort from either without or within, and they constitute a dead weight of obstructive ignorance, prejudice and superstition, which is perfectly appalling in its magnitude. It is a hopeful symptom of the healthiness of social progress in Bengal that the task of attacking this enormous evil is fearlessly approached by some earnest-minded native gentlemen, unaided by the State. Obviously, instruction and enlightenment must be brought to this portion of the population in a special mode. Their extreme poverty deprives them both of the means and of the time for availing themselves of the ordinary schools. Evening schools, such as those at Barahanagore maintained by the very zealous and praiseworthy exertions of Babu Sasipada Banerjee, and those lately set on foot by the Association over which Babu Keshub Chunder Sen presides, appear to afford almost the only avenue by which the lower labouring classes can be invaded in the absence of Government organization for the purpose.

Europeans enjoy such slight opportunity of observing the interior of native society that the remarks they may make upon it cannot be greatly depended upon. Still the indicia of intellectual and economic activity of the people must be open to the observation even of a by-stander. The preceding sketch, then, exceedingly imperfect as it is, may not be altogether without value. It may at least serve to attract attention to the points which are most material in an enquiry into the actual state of the civilization of this country. If it tends to suggest the conclusion that much of the boasted modern education and enlightenment of Bengal is little better than unsubstantial show and parade—a beauty-veil to plain features behind, it also shows that there are vital forces at work in the body of society, which, if secured from interruption and encouraged by the dominant power, will undoubtedly lead to true national development.

J. B. P.

ART. IV.—TOPOGRAPHY OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE IN
THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

PART II.

*De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera. Joannes de Laët.
Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriana. Anno 1631.*

CAP. I.—*Indiæ sive Imperii Magni Mogolis Topographica
Descriptio.*

THE PROVINCE OF AGRA.—We leave the province of Gualere, or Gualiar, for that of Agra on crossing the river Camberis,* which I believe to be the common boundary of the two provinces. English travellers say that the river here is nearly as large as the Thames.

Beyond this river, the road for two coss is narrow and difficult, with mountains on either side. It here reaches Doulpore, a city inhabited by Gentiles (Hindus), which possesses a very strong and extensive fortress, surrounded on all sides by a broad ditch and by four parallel walls inside the ditch. The fortress is very difficult of access; its breadth is three-quarters of a mile (Dutch). From this place to Jaiow† the distance is nine coss, and thence to Agra the same.

Agra is situated north of the equator twenty-eight degrees and thirty (or, as some say, forty-five) minutes. Before the time of King Achabar it is said to have been a mere village. Now it is a most spacious and populous city, whose streets (though they are for the most part narrow, with the exception of the one in which the market is situated,) can scarcely accommodate the numerous inhabitants. It lies in the form of a half-moon on the banks of the River Jemini, or Soemena, which flows down from Delly, and which is overhung by many very beautiful palaces belonging to the nobles of the empire. The prospect towards the river is most pleasant for about six coss or more along its banks. Here, too, is situated the royal palace, the largest and most magnificent in the whole East. It occupies a site of nearly four square miles (English), and is surrounded on all sides by a wall of hewn stone, inside which is a double rampart. Within are the palace and court of the king, and many other buildings of extraordinary magnificence. The city itself is surrounded neither by a wall nor by a rampart, but

* This river is evidently the Chumbul. It is crossed by the road from Gwalior to Dholpore near the village of Hinjonah.

† Now written Jaju, near the ford

of the river Bungunga. It is generally called Jâjû Sarâi. Near it the battle was fought between Bahâdur Shâh, son and successor of Aurangzêh, and his brother Prince Muhammad A'zâd.

only by a deep ditch. The suburbs are very extensive. It is said that King Achabar made this his capital in the year 1566, and constructed, for its protection and adornment, several gates, which are called Madhar Derwasa, Tziartzou Derwasa, Nim Derwasa, Ponto Derwasa and Noery Derwasa. The site of the city is very long in proportion to its breadth, for every one has been anxious to have immediate access to the river, and all have consequently built their houses on the bank. The palaces of the nobles lie in this order:—First, commencing in the northern quarter, comes the house of Badur Chan,* who formerly held the fortress of Hassere. Next to him is Radzia Bosios,† the father of Ray-Rottangh, who formerly was Governor of Barampory with the command of five thousand horse. Next, Ebrahim Chan,‡ a commander of three thousand horse; Rostom Kandahary,§ of five thousand; Radia Kissendas,|| of three thousand; Ethegat Chan,¶ the younger brother of Assof Chan, of five thousand; Chazady Chanons,** the sister of the king, and the widow of Mados-tar Chan; Goulziar Begem, the mother of the king; Codha Mamet Thahar, the commander of two thousand horse; Codha Benziu, of a thousand; Ozier Chan,†† of five thousand. Then comes the large house of Tzoach Pœrazi, in which live the concubines of the dead king Achabar. Then the house of Etthebar Chan,‡‡ the

* This is doubtless the Bahádur mentioned in the first part. (*Cultrutta Review*, No. CII. p. 350.) After the conquest of Málwah, Bahádur wandered about, trying to get support from the kings of the Dak'hin, but failing in this, he threw himself on Akbar's mercy. He was made a commander of 1,000, and received a small jágir.

† Rája Bhoj, father of Ráo Ratan. The latter was governor of Burhánpúr in the 19th year of Jahangir's reign, when Sháhjahán marched from Telingánah to Bengal. Rája Bhoj's father was Ráo Surjan Nárá from whom Akbar took Fort Ratanbhúr. Surjan was for some time governor of Garha-Katangah (Jabalpúr) and Fort Chunár.

‡ This Ibrahim Khan was governor of Bengal under Jahangir; he lost his possessions and his life in the invasion of Bengal by Shah Jahan in 1622. His wife was maternal aunt to Núr Jahán.

§ A Persian Prince of the Safawí family, formerly governor of Kandahar.—See note, p. 78.

|| Raja Kissen Dás, a grandee of Jahángir. He was a Tunwar Rájput.

¶ I'tikád Khán Mirzá Shápúr, son of I'timád-ud-daulah Mirzá Ghíás (father of Núr Jahán), and brother of Asaf Khán. He died in the 23rd year of Sháhjahán's reign (A. H. 1060).

He is not to be confounded with I'tikád Khán Mirzá Bahman Yár, son of Asaf Khán.

** Sháhzádí Khánum was the name of Akbar's eldest daughter, and sister of Jahángir. But if the sister of Sháhjahán be intended, it would refer to Sultanunnisá Begum. Unfortunately the name *Mados-tar Chan* admits of no verification.

† Ozier Khán is Wazír Khan Hakim Alimuddin of Chiniote (Panjab), who was made a commander of 5,000 on Sháhjahán's accession. He died in the 14th year of Sháhjahán's reign as Subahdár of Agra.

‡‡ I'tibár Khán Khwajah Sarai (i.e. Eunuch) was a commander of 5,000 under Jahángir, and was in the 17th year of his reign Subahdár of Agra.

Eunuch, who was before his death Governor of Agra; Bager Chan,* the commander of three thousand horse; Mirza Abou-sayth,† of fifteen hundred; Assof Chan,‡ of eight thousand, (this is by far the most sumptuous palace); Ethamadaulet, the commander of five thousand; Sultan Chrom,§ the prince, and a commander of twenty thousand horse during the life of his father; Chan Sian,|| of five thousand; Codha Abdulhassen, of five thousand; Rochia Sultan Begem,¶ the unmarried sister of the king.

There comes next the royal palace, the walls of which are built of red stone to the height of twenty-five cubits, above a somewhat lofty site. The building is a stupendous one, and has a most delightful prospect, especially towards the river, on which side it has windows of lattice-work, from which the king is accustomed to look out at the contests of elephants. A little within this lattice-work is the king's residence, which is called the Gussul-cau,** built of alabaster in a square form, overlaid with golden planks in a gorgeous manner. Below this is situated the women's quarters, (Mahael, they call it,) occupied by Nourzian Begem, the most beloved wife of the former King Ziangier. The remainder of the palatial site is occupied by various buildings, amongst which the chief are the women's apartments, viz., one set belonging to Maria Makany,†† the wife of Achabar and mother of Ziangier; then three sets, in which the concubines of the king are shut up,

* Bákir Khán Najm-i-Sání, a grandee of Jahángír and Sháhjahán's courts. He was married to Khadíjah Begum, daughter of Núr Jahán's sister, and died in the 10th year of Sháhjahán's reign as governor of Allahabad.

† Mirzá Abú Sa'íd, grandson of I'timád-ud-daulah. He died in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign.

‡ This is of course the powerful brother of Nur Jahán, to whose influence Shah Jahán was considerably indebted for his throne. On the death of Jahángír, Asaf Khan, marched against Shehryár at Lahore, defeated him, and subsequently put him to death. There is an interesting notice of this nobleman amongst the India Office Records, in a letter from Thomas Kerridge to the East India Company, dated Ajmere, March 20, 1615:—"Asaph Chan, chief favourite of the King, by means of his sister, the best beloved queen, considered the most fit to present Edwardes [the "Messenger" of the Company to Jahangir, and the pre-

decessor of Sir Thos. Roe] and prosecute our business." He goes on to say that a present must be made to Asaph Chan, as he had sent Edwardes 1,000 rupees for a banquet.

§ Sultan Khurram, or Shahjahan.

|| Khan Jahan Lodi held great commands under Jahangir. He rebelled against Shah Jehan in 1629, and after various successes and disasters was killed in Bundelkund in 1630.

¶ Rukaiyah Sultan Begum was the name of Akbar's first wife. She died at 84 years of age about a year and a half before Jahángír's death. It is not clear whether DeLaët refers to her, though no other Moghul princess of the same name is mentioned by Muhammadan historians.

** *Ghusl-khána*, pr. a bagnio, a term in use since the reign of Akbar. It means a private reception hall.

†† DeLaët is wrong. Maryam Makání was the title of Akbar's mother; Akbar's wife, the mother of Jahángír, had the title of Maryam Zamání.

whereof one set is called Lettewar, from the name for Sunday ; the second Mangel, from that of Tuesday ; and the third Zenisser, from that of Saturday ; on which days the king is accustomed to visit them respectively. In addition, there is a fifth set of women's apartments, in which foreign women are brought up for the pleasure of the king ; this is called the Bengaly Mahal. On leaving the royal citadel, one emerges on a large market, where horses, camels, oxen, and all kinds of merchandise are sold. Then follow the palaces of Mirza Abdalla,* the son of Chan Azem, the commander of three thousand horse ; of Aga Nours, also a commander of three thousand ; Zehenna Chan, of two thousand ; Mirza Chrom, the son of Chan Alems, of two thousand ; Mahabot Chan,† of eight thousand ; Chan 'Alem,‡ of five thousand ; Radzia Bartzing, of three thousand ; Radzia Mantzing,§ of two thousand.

I find it noticed by the English that this city is distant from Lahore five hundred miles ; from Brampore, a thousand ; from Asmere, two hundred ; from Suratte, seven hundred and seventy.

On the left bank of the river is the city of Secandra, elegantly built, and chiefly inhabited by Baneanes ; for hither they bring most of the merchandise from Purob,|| Bengala, Purbet, and Bouten,¶ and pay the Queen's customs before crossing the river. This city also occupies a site of nearly two coss in length. It possesses some palaces magnificently built, as those of Sultan Perwesy** and others. There are also some most beautiful gardens, amongst which the chief is that of Ethamau Doulet,††

* Mirzá 'Abdullah and Mirzá Khurram were sons of Mirzá Azíz Kokah Khán A'zam, Akbar's foster-brother. DeLaët calls Mirzá Khurram by mistake the son of Khán 'Alam, instead of Khan A'zam.

† The famous General who opposed Nur Jahan, and held for some time the custody of Jahangir's person and the management of the empire.

‡ Amongst the India Office Records is a letter from Kerridge, the Company's factor at Agra, dated September 7, 1613, wherein occurs the following sentence :—"The Emperor of Persia demands Seinde, which the King will not grant ; Chan Allam goes ambassador for Persia." Khan 'Alam was the title of Mirzá Barkhurdár. He was a commander of 5,000 and was pensioned off by Sháhjahán in the 5th year of his reign. He lived at Agra, and had no children.

As a reward for his embassy to Persia, Jahángir had made him a commander of 5,000.

§ Raja Man Singh, one of Akbar's most famous Generals. He settled Bengal ; his sister was married to Jahangir, and was the mother of Prince Khusráu. But he was a commander of 6,000, not 2,000.

|| Purob is elsewhere called Purobia, and is described below (p. 88). as the province of Allahabad.

¶ Bhutan.

** Sultan Parwiz, son of Jahangir.

†† The father of Nur Jahan is known in history by the names of Mirza Ghiyás, Ghiyas Beg, and Chajá Aíass. The name given him throughout by De Laët (Ethamau Doulet) is obviously a corruption of the title which Jahangir bestowed upon him—'I'timad-ud-daulah, or the 'trust of the empire.' His splendid mausoleum lies near Agra, close to the railway.

the father of Assof Chan and of Queen Nourzian, who died a few years ago. A magnificent monument is being erected here to his memory at so great a cost that those who have seen its commencement think that ten millions of rupees will not be sufficient to complete it.

In the same province is situated Fettiport; it is distant from Agra twelve coss. It was formerly a most noble city; Achabar surrounded it with a wall and fixed here the seat of his Government, which he afterwards transferred to Agra. The wall remains to the present day, but the city is almost destroyed; its houses tumbled down, and the soil turned into fields and gardens, so that when you are in the midst of the city, you would think yourself in the country rather than in a town. The distance from one gate of the city to the other is three English miles; but it is very dangerous to attempt this journey by night. The suburbs also formerly were most extensive, but are now altogether in ruins. Within the gate on the north side is a very large market-place, a mile in length, paved with flints, and enclosed on either side by buildings. At the end of this there is the royal palace, adorned with many costly edifices, and above it is a mosque, more splendid than any other in the whole East. The ascent to this mosque is by twenty-five or thirty steps, at the top of which is a very lofty and most beautiful gate, visible from a great distance. Within is a broad area, paved with living stone, and surrounded on all sides by magazines, with lofty columns of solid rock and immense ceilings. Near the gate is seen a splendid monument, wherein is buried a certain holy Mahumetan, of the sect of those called Kalendars; who is said to have constructed this mosque at his own expense. Below this is a tank, which alone furnishes this town with drinking water, for all the other springs and water-courses are salt and unwholesome. It is said that it was this scarcity of water which obliged the king to desert the city; which on this account, within the short space of fifty years from its origin, has become almost deserted. It was formerly called Sykary,* that is, an enclosure for hunting; but Achabar, on his return from a long journey, and having obtained the blessing of a son (the same who afterwards succeeded him) ordered it to be called Fettiport to signify the attainment of the object of a vow. Outside the walls on the north-west is a marsh, some two or three coss in length, abounding in fish and birds. Nearly the whole of this marsh is covered by a herb which bears the *hermodactylus* fruit,† and by another herb which bears the *Camolachacheri*‡ both

* DeLaet evidently derives *Sikri* from the Persian *Shikari*; but *Sikri* is a Hindi word. Akbar changed the name *Sikri* to *Fathpur* after the Gujrati wars.

† This is explained below to be the

Singara, sometimes called the *pan-phol*.

‡ This name should evidently be written *kamalachaki*; and is probably the fruit of the lotus, the *pad-machaki*.

these fruits possess very cooling properties. The fruit of the hermodactylus is covered with a triangular rind of a woody substance, armed with a sharp thorn at each of the angles. Whilst green, it is soft, and of a flavour by no means unpleasant, but very cold. It is commonly called Singarra by the Indians. It grows here and there even in the tanks about Agra. The Camalochacheri is in the form of a goblet, and contains within it six or eight kernels which are separated by a white membrane.

In the same province is Bayana, or Byana, famous for the very finest indigo. The road from Agra to this place is as follows :—To Menhapore, a great hostel, seven coss, near which is a country-palace of the Queen's mother—they call it a Moholl, with an elegant and pleasant garden. To Cannova, eleven coss.

It is to be observed that, in the road from Agra to Asmere, on which we are now travelling, a distance of one hundred and thirty coss, each coss is marked by a white pillar; and at the distance of every eight coss, there is a set of women's apartments, capable of containing sixteen ladies with their servants. These were erected by King Ahabar, who, when he wished for children, went on foot from Agra to Asmere, to the tomb of a holy Mahometan named Hoguee Monde*, who is especially venerated in this country.

Cannow† is a little country town, around which the best indigo or *nil* is collected, on account of the solidity of the soil and the saltness of the water. The advantage obtained from these conditions is, the *nil* is much more friable than when it is prepared with sweet water.

I find it noted by my Dutch authorities that Cannova is distant from Byana on the west ten coss, and has in its district these villages: Mahal and Phoubas, which are each two coss from the town; Tzourtsouda, a coss and-a-half; Dabet, two coss; Mahal-pore and Garassa, each one coss; Dannachan, two coss; Bockolyt, one coss; Barawat, one coss and-a-half; Zrazewolian, the same distance; Phettapore, five coss.

From Cannova to Ouchen, three coss; to Candere, a dirty village, six coss. Two coss from this place is a palace like those which we have already mentioned as having been constructed by the king at every eight coss on the Asmere road. The building is of a square form. Inside the first gate is a hall destined for a Darshany (or Hall of Audience) for the king, with some interior bed-rooms

* Khájah Mu'ínuddín, the oldest Indian Saint, whose *dargáh* is in Ajmír. He was born in Sijistán, and died in A. D. 1239 at Ajmír.

He belongs to the Chishtí sect. The Moghul Emperors often visited his tomb, especially Akbar and

Jahángír.

† Kaunweh is a few miles west of Futtehpore, and in Bhurtpore. It is described by Heber as a large ruinous village, with a mosque and a considerable Musalman population.

adjoining it. Inside the second gate are the women's apartments, also of a square form; but each side is so arranged that it may contain four bed-rooms for the royal concubines, there being sixteen bed-rooms in all. In the centre of each side and at the four corners are open halls called *Devoncan*,* carpeted with rich tapestry. In the midst of the palace is the king's bed-chamber, with direct access to the women's apartments, which are always open on this side.

Byana† was formerly a large and beautiful town; now it is almost fallen to ruin, except two Sarays and a long street or bazar (that is, a market), with a few huts; the finer houses have already fallen down or are threatening to do so, and have only a few occupants. From this town, however, the finest indigo or *nîl* which India sends us takes its name. It is prepared (my Dutch authorities inform me) in a tract of country about twenty or thirty coss in length, wherein there are five principal towns, each having more villages in its district. Of these chief towns, one is Cannova, the villages belonging to which we have already enumerated. Another is Byana, which has the following villages under it:—Ebrahamie Dabat, distant from the town one coss; Perso,‡ four coss; Otchim, six; Patchiona, five; Bizampor, four; Mcchepore, four; Tzonova, four; Pinyora, six; Nau Nava, six; Beretcha, five; Azenauhc, four; Baziola, four; Podaulet, four; Gardaha, five; Hellec Zeos, nearly ten; Pchertzy, seven; Raduwel§ Khera, four; Nimbera, seven; Berouwa, five; Ratziona, seven; Indiara, four; Tziereer Panna, five; Birampor, four; Catchioera, four. The third chief town is Bassouwer,|| distant ten coss from Byana towards the west, to which belong the following villages:—Wyris,¶ distant from Bassouwer, three coss; Rat-soulpor, four; Hessauda, as many; Tzerrees, two; Barolu, one and-a-half; Ziara, three; Pantha,** two and-a-half; Tzettohe, three; Sonohr, six; Tsonhery, six. The fourth chief town is Hindoun,†† distant ten coss from Byana, to which belong the following villages:—Khera, distant two coss; Ziamalpoura, two; Kottopore, two; Haszianepore, three; Sierpoer, six; Tzeroot,‡‡ five; Ziet-

* *Divân-khâna*, a hall of audience or council-chamber, a *divan*.

† Biana was the capital of this province before the rise of Agra. Sikandar Lodi held his court there.

‡ Heber mentions Persa as a village in Blurtpore, and states that there is much cultivation of grain, cotton and sugar, between Kannweh and Persa.

§ Radawal is at present a village about half-way between Kannweh

and Biana.

|| Besawar is a town near the western extremity of the Blurtpore territory.

¶ Weyre is a village between Biana and Besawar.

** Poyta is west of Besawar, and in the Jeypore territories.

†† Hindoun is also in Jeypore, south-west of Biana.

‡‡ Surout is a village midway between Biana and Hindoun.

waly and Kardaue, each six. The fifth chief town is Tora,* distant from Byana eighteen coss, which also possesses several villages, but their names have not been supplied to me.

There are also other places in this province that produce indigo, as, for instance, across the river Semena, Koheloff, Gorza, thirty coss from Agra. But this indigo is not considered by any means equal to the Byanensian in quality, and has not hitherto been imported into Europe.

Three or four coss from the town of Byana to the north-west may be seen the ruins of a magnificent palace and of other buildings. Also, towards the south, in the direction of the town of Scanderbade at, about the same distance from Byana, there are similar ruins on the top of some rocks; the road leading to them is a narrow and precipitous path, paved with flints, inaccessible except to a man on foot. Inside the narrow gateway, immediately on the right, and on the brink of the precipice, there is a most beautiful building, within which are some monuments, which remain entire to the present day. From this you ascend, by a road paved with stones, to the royal palaces, which are now almost in ruins, and only inhabited by a few shepherds who call themselves Goagers.† At the foot of the mountain, towards Scanderbade, there is a pleasant valley, surrounded by a wall, where there are many gardens.

But the town of Scanderbade, in a former age, was the capital of a very powerful Potanensian King. Its fortifications extended for eight coss along the brow of the hill, and, in addition, there were parts of its boundary which were sufficiently defended by the precipitous nature of the place, and which, therefore, had no walls. Now it is only the resort of shepherds, and has been so since the time when King Achabar expelled the usurper Scha-Selim from this very strong place, and utterly wasted and destroyed it, as he treated Mandoa also.

* DELY OR DELLI, a most celebrated kingdom, adjoins the province of Agra. The road from Agra to Lahore runs through this kingdom as follows:—From Agra, the residence of the king, to Rawnocan, twelve coss; to Bady, a saray, ten; to Achabarpore,‡ twelve. This was formerly a considerable town; now it is only visited by pilgrims who come here on account of many holy Mahumetans buried here. To Hondle, thirteen coss; to Pulwool,§ twelve; to Ferreëdabade,|| twelve; to Delly, ten.

* Probably Toda in Jeypore.

† Gujurs, still an important tribe in Jeypore.

‡ A village on the route from Muttra cantonment to Delhi, in the

district of Muttra.

§ Fulwul is the chief town of a pergunnah of the same name in the district of Goorgaon.

|| Faridabad is on the route from

On turning off to the left from the road between the two last places, the huge remains of the old City of Delly are seen, which the Indians call "Nine castles and fifty-two gates." At present it is only the resort of shepherds. Not far from these ruins a stone-bridge is passed, built over a branch of the Jemini or Semena; from this a broad path, shaded by lofty trees, leads to the monument of Hamawm, the grand-father of Selim, who was Emperor in the year 1609,* and, a little further on, to the royal palace, which, at the present time, is falling to ruin.

The modern City of Delly is also very extensive, inasmuch as it is fully two coss in length. It is surrounded by a strong wall, which is, however, becoming dilapidated in many places; many houses also within the walls have already fallen down. Within and without the city, there are scattered about twenty monuments of the Potanensian Kings, very handsome. In this city the Kings of India are wont to hold their coronation, as that ceremony is not considered valid if held elsewhere. Two coss from the town is a house which was built for hunting purposes by the Potanensian Kings; it is said to have been constructed by Sultan Berusa [Fírúz?] a most powerful monarch of the Indians. Among other monuments of antiquity may be seen a very high obelisk, inscribed (as some affirm) with Greek characters, and placed here (as it is believed) by Alexander the Great. Similar obelisks are found in various parts of India, and, somewhat recently, one was dug up near Fetti-pore of a hundred cubits in length, which was broken by the carelessness of the workmen, as it was being transported with great difficulty to the capital.

THE PROVINCE OF PANG-AB OR PENIAB.—The route from the town of Delly to Lahor, the capital of the province of the Pang-ab, is as follows:—

From Delly to Naleron, fourteen coss; to Gonowr,† the same distance; to Panneput,‡ the same; to Carmal,§ the same. All this road is much infested by thieves. Hence to Tanassar,|| with

Muttra to Delhi, twenty-one miles south of the latter. There is a bazar here, and a large tank; and the town is surrounded by a wall. This town is called Farídábád after the name of Shaikh Faríd-i-Bukhári Murtazá Khán, who defeated Prince Khusrau at Bhaironwál.

* Selim's date is given by mistake, instead of that of Hamayun.

† Gonour, in the district of Pani-

put, on the route from Delhi to the British cantonment of Kurnaul.

‡ Paniput was described by Jacquemont as the largest town he had seen in Northern India, except Delhi. It is well-known as the scene of two famous battles.

§ This is obviously meant to be Kurnaul.

|| Thanesar in Sirhind, on the route from Kurnaul to Ludiana; celebrat-

its fortress, fourteen coss. Near this place is a beautiful tank,* and around it are many idolatrous temples (the Indians call them Pagodes), where one may see the monstrous idols† which these people most superstitiously venerate. Not far off are some pits from which Sal Armoniacus is taken. To Shabad‡ or Gobaden, ten coss; to Amballa,§ twelve; to Holloway, a saray, fourteen; to Siryna,|| seven. This town has a most beautiful tank; in the middle of the tank is a little house, the approach to which is by a bridge of stone supported on fifteen arches. At the distance of one coss from this is the royal garden, to which one is guided by a watercourse and a path paved with flints. This path is forty feet wide, and most pleasantly shaded by trees on both sides. The garden itself is in shape a square, each of whose sides is more than a coss in length. It is shut in by a brick wall. Within, it is planted with all manner of fruit-trees and vegetables and flowers; some authorities assure me that it is let at a yearly rent of fifty thousand rupees. In the midst, where four broad roads from the sides of the square meet and form a cross (each road is shaded on either side by lofty cypress trees), there is the royal residence, which is very artfully built, with a most pleasant verandah surrounding it, and with eight sets of female apartments. There are also eight bed-rooms in the upper part of the house; and on the summit is a very pleasant dining room.

From Syrina to Doropay¶ are fifteen coss; to Pulloceque (a Saray) thirteen; to Nicodar,** twelve; to Sultanpore,†† eleven; to Fettiore,‡‡ seven. Selim, who was formerly Emperor of India,

ed as the object of one of Mahmud of Ghazni's iconoclastic expeditions. It is still surrounded by a ruined wall, evidently once of considerable height, connected with which is a dilapidated fort with numerous towers.

* The sacred lake of Kurket or Kurukshetra, the scene of the great battle between the Kauravas and Pandavas in the *Mahabharat*.

† Thornton tells us that on the walls of the houses in Thanesar "are depicted, in gaudy colours and of large dimensions, the grotesque figures of their monstrous idols."

‡ Shahabad, a town in Sirhind on the Saraswati.

§ The town of Umbeyla, now a great British cantonment.

|| Sirhind, the capital of the province of that name, is now a town in the State of Patiala. The gardens mentioned below are described by

Abul Fazl as laid out by Hafiz Rahmat, a grandee of Humayun's court.

¶ These two stations on the route given in the text (Doropay and Pulloceque) must be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Loodiana or Phillour.

** Nakodur is a village north-west of Phillour, between the Sutlej and the Beas. The modern road from Lahore stops at this point.

†† Sultanpore, on a tributary of the Beas.

‡‡ Fettiore, the place where the road crosses the river Beas. The fight took place, as remarked on the preceding page, near Bhaironwál (also spelt Bhyrowal) and Jahangir made a new parganah to which he gave the name of Fathábád. The parganah was given to Shaikh Farid-i-Bukhári Murtazá Khán as a present.

is said to have erected this saray to commemorate a battle won in this place by his forces over his eldest son, Sultan Cusheroo. They say that the circumstances of the affair were as follows:—Selim on a certain occasion having seriously offended his father Achabar, was afraid to meet him, and consequently retired into Purropia and seized the strong fortress of Halebassa. On this Achabar declared his grandson Cusheroo the heir to the empire. But Achabar died before Cusheroo was fully confirmed in his place; and Selim, by the help of his friends, seized the castle of Agra and got possession of his father's treasures. He then pursued his son, who was flying to Lahore. The forces of the latter were in this place routed, and he himself was at length captured and put into prison. Many have believed that he was deprived of his sight in prison, but this was not the case, as was subsequently proved.

From Fettiapore to Hogemoheede, ten coss; to Cancanna, a Saray, twelve coss; to Lahore, seven coss.

Lahore is by far the largest city in the East; for, in circuit, it is no less than twenty-four coss, following the ditch which was dug in former years by the command of the king, and the wall which was built under the auspices of Selim. In the time of the Potanensian Kings it was merely a village (Multhan was then in its glory), until it was enlarged by Hamaune. The city and suburbs are six coss in length. The royal citadel is surrounded by a very strong brick wall, and has twelve gates, nine of which lead to the suburbs, and three open on the river. The streets of the city are beautiful, and paved with flint. Its inhabitants are for the most part Baneanes and artificers. The houses are fine and lofty, and skilfully constructed with a view to strength. Those of the Gentiles are for the most part raised above six or seven steps, which are very difficult to ascend, being thus elevated both for the sake of security and also that the passers-by may be unable to look in.

The citadel is situated on the bank of the Ravee, a most pleasant river, which flows into the Indus. Very many boats of sixty tons burden and upwards descend the river after the close of the rains to Tatta, the emporium of Sinda. The voyage is one of about forty days by Multhan, Seetpore, Buchur, Rauree, &c. The river Ravee comes down from the east from the mountains of Cassimer, according to some authorities, and flows by this city on its northern side. The royal palace is within the citadel, on the bank of the river; here is the middle gate of the three which open on the river. The entrance from the city is by a broad gate, within which is a smaller one, which opens on a square, where the royal guards are. Turning hence to the left through another gate, one reaches an inner court in which is seen the King's Darbar; around the latter are the guard-houses of the Guard of Nobles. Hence one passes into another court,

in the midst of which is the King's Devouca, with some bed-chambers, in which the king is wont to lie in the evening from eight o'clock to eleven. On the wall of this building is a painting of the king, sitting with crossed legs under a magnificent canopy. On his right are Sultan Poruesius,* Sultan Carouius,† and Timor with his sons. Next to them are Sha Morat‡ and Dan Sha,§ the brothers of the king; then Emyrza Sheriff|| the elder brother of Can Asom. (This nobleman is said to be so rich that he does not allow the garments of his concubines, having been once worn, ever to be put on again, but he orders them to be buried in the ground until they decay. Moreover, he maintains five hundred torch-bearers, they call them Massalgeas, so that when he travels from Agra to his house, which is only one coss distant from the town, not a single torch-bearer moves from his place with his torch, but they are stationed along the whole road.) Next to this nobleman is Emyrsa Rosthan,¶ formerly King of Candahar; then Can Cauna,** Cuttuph Caun;†† Rahia Manisengo; Caun Asom;‡‡ Asoph Caun;§§ Scheck Fereed; Kelish Caun;||| and Rahia Juggonath,¶¶

* Sultan Parwiz.

† Sultan Khurram, afterwards Shahjahan.

Timor is probably meant for Tahmuras, the eldest son of Prince Daniyal; he married Sultan Bahár Begam, a daughter of Jahángir; and was consequently at once the nephew and the son-in-law of the king. On the death of Jahángir, Tahmuras joined Shahryár, and was taken prisoner by Asaf Khan at the battle on the Ravee; he was soon afterwards put to death, by the command of Shahjahan.

‡ Morad Shah.

§ Danyal Shah. These two must have been posthumous portraits, for both Morad and Danyal died during the lifetime of their father Akbar.

|| Mirzá Sharif was the *atalik*, or governor of Sháh Murád. Khán A'zam was the title of Atgah Khán (Akbar's foster-father). Mirzá Sharif was his younger brother. After Atgah Khán's death, the title of Khán A'zam was bestowed upon his son Mirzá 'Aziz 'Kokah (Akbar's foster-brother). Mirzá Sharif therefore is his uncle.

¶ Akbar regained possession of Kandahar in 1594. The nobleman mentioned in the text (Mirzá Rus-

tam) was a Persian Prince of the Safawi family, and had been the Persian governor. See note, page 68. He was subsequently (1626) made governor of Behar by Jahangir.

** The Khan-Khanan.

†† Kutb Khan, the younger brother of Atgah Khán and Mirzá Sharif; He was *atalik* to Jahángir. Muzaffar of Gujrát killed him.

‡‡ This is Aziz, the Khan-i-Azam, who was Akbar's foster brother and father-in-law of Prince Khusráu.

§§ This is Asaf Khán Jáfar Beg, one of Akbar's *diwáns*, a man of great learning, and an excellent poet. He was *atalik* to Prince Parwiz, and died in 1021 A.H., at Burhampúr.

The next grandee is Shaikh Farid-i-Bukhári, mentioned above.

||| In a letter from the factor Keridge at Agra to the English Council at Surat, dated September 7th, 1613, we are informed that "Quileath Chan hath had an overthrow at Cabul." He was employed in putting down the rebellion of the Rosheniyas. Qilich Khán in the 17th year of Akbar's reign was made governor of Surat, which Akbar had conquered. He died towards the end of 1613 at Pesháwúr.

¶¶ Raja Jagannath, son of Raja Bihari Mall, and brother of Raja

(on whose death, it is said that seven of his friends, together with his sister and his brother's son, leapt on the funeral pile of their own accord). On the left of the King is Rahia Bousingh,* driving away the flies with a little flap; Rahia Ramdas,† holding the king's sword; Cleriff Khan; Mocrib Boucan;‡ Rahia Bossu, Rahia Ransing; Majo Kesso,§ and Lalla Bersing.¶ Moreover in the same portico, on the right hand portion of the wall whereon the king is painted as above described, there is a picture of the Saviour and the Virgin-mother above the doors. There are besides very many halls and women's apartments in this palace, to describe which at greater length would be tedious. But there is one portico which must not be unnoticed, on the wall of which are painted the progenitors of this King Selim: viz, his father Achabar, his grandfather Hamaun, and his great-grandfather Babur; the last of whom first came into India (as we shall narrate elsewhere§) with thirty followers in the guise of Kalenders. Beyond the western gate of the fortress there is the ferry across the river, from which the royal road leads to Kabul. The whole country on the other side of the river is singularly pleasant.

Other authorities give a slightly different route|| from Delly to Lahore as follows:—From Delly to Bunyra, ten coss; to Cullower, 12 coss; to Pampette, a small but beautiful town, twelve coss; to Kurnal, as many; to Tanissar, fourteen coss; to Shabad, ten; to Gangur, or Mogol Saray, fifteen; to Sina, an ancient town famous for

Bhagwan Das. He died in the beginning of Jahangir's reign.

* Raja Bhao Singh was the son and successor of the famous Raja Man Singh mentioned above.

† Mocrob Khan was the governor of Cambay at the time of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy, and is well known for his inveterate hostility to the English. At first he was thought to be friendly, as we discover from an indent sent home from the factory at Surat:—"Almain blades; the governor of Cambaya, who is also our patron here, called *Mocrow Bowcan*, desireth 1,000 for himself, but I doubt whether he would be as big as his word or no." This indent is dated August 30, 1609.

His name was Shaikh Hasan, *alias* Hassú. He was looked upon as the best surgeon at Akbar's court. Jahangir was much attached to him. He gave no satisfaction as governor

of Gujrat and was removed. Shah-jahan pensioned him off, and gave him the parganah of Kairánah (near Saháranpúr), his birth-place, as a present.

‡ Rai Ram Das Diwan, Kesu, and Lallah (son of Raja Bir Bal) were all at Akbar's court. Rai Rai Singh's daughter was one of Jahangir's wives. Raja Basú is the well-known zamindar of Mau and Pathan (Panjab).

§ In the *Fragmentum Historiæ Indicæ*.

|| This route may be the one on the eastern bank of the Jumna from Delhi to Kurnaul, unless Pampette be only another form of Paniput. In the latter case, the road is the same as that described* at page 75, the halting-places being slightly different. Kurnaul and Tanissar are described in the former route, and Pullower is evidently Phullour.

the manufacture of cotton cloths, fourteen ; to Duratia, fifteen ; to Pullower, eleven. But before arriving at this place, the Sietmagus* a broad river has to be crossed, which flows down to the west and at length falls into the Indus. To Nicondar,† a small town, eleven coss ; to Sultanpore, an ancient town, washed by the river on the north, . . . ; to Chuirmal, eleven coss. In this stage the river Van‡ has to be crossed, which is very broad and flows westward into the Indus. To Cancanna, a Saray, seventeen coss ; to Lahore, seven coss.

The whole of the country between Agra and Lahore is well cultivated, and by far the most fertile part of India. It abounds in all kinds of produce, especially in sugar. The highway is hedged on either side by trees which bear a fruit not unlike the fig. At intervals of five or six coss, there are Sarays built either by the king or by some of the nobles. In these travellers can find bed and lodging ; when a person has once taken possession, he may not be turned out by any one.

THE PROVINCE OF KABUL.—The road from Lahore to Kabul is very much infested by Potanensian (Pathán) thieves ; and although the King has placed at certain intervals no less than twenty-three detachments of guards, travellers are nevertheless frequently robbed by these bandits. They even, in the year 1611, surprised the City of Kabul and plundered it. The road is as follows :—

From Lahore, crossing the river Ravee, there are ten coss to Googes,§ a Saray ; to Emenabade,|| a pretty town, eight ; to Chumaguckor,¶ a large city, twelve coss ; to Guzarat,** a celebrated mart, fourteen coss. In this stage, and seven coss from the latter town, the road crosses a very broad river, the Chantrow.††

From Guzarat to Howaspore,‡‡ twelve coss ; to Loure-Rotas,§§ a town with a strong fortress situated on the top of a hill, fifteen

* The Sietmagus is of course the Sutlej, crossed near Phillour.

† Nicondar and Sultanpur have been described in the first route. Chuirmal appears to be a village on the road, west of the Beas.

‡ This is the Beas, which is crossed by the modern road between Sultanpur and Naurangabad.

§ Nearly due north of Lahore, and west of Meance, is marked on modern maps Serai-Khojake.

|| Emenabad is a town on the modern road from Lahore to Wazirabad, about thirty-three miles from the former.

¶ The site of this city must be

somewhere between Gujuru-wala and Wazirabad. It is very likely Tulwandí Chimáñ Gakhar.

** Gujarat is about eight miles from the right bank of the Chenab. It is now famous as the scene of Lord Gough's victory in 1849.

†† The Chenab in its upper course is usually called the Chandra, of which this name is evidently a corruption.

‡‡ Khowaspur is a village north-west of Gujarat.

§§ Rotas is an extensive fort, six miles west of the right or western bank of the Jhelum. The interior is two miles and-a-half long, and is of an oblong

coss. This was formerly the boundary of the Potanensian Kingdom. To Hattea, fifteen ; to Puckouw, four ; to Raulepende,* fourteen ; to Collapanne,† fifteen ; to Hassanabdal,‡ four coss. This is a beautiful town on the banks of a little river : near it are some most beautiful tanks, filled with innumerable fishes, in the mouths of which Achabar is said to have had golden rings fastened. The water is so singularly limpid and pellucid that the bottom can be seen even in the deepest parts. To Attock, a town with a very strong fortress§ washed by the waters of the Indus, fifteen coss ; to Pishore,|| thirty-six coss ; to Alleck,¶ a mosque, ten coss. The road here is exposed to the attacks of some enemies of the king, who can bring into the field some ten or twelve thousand cavalry. To Ducka,** twelve coss ; to Beshoule,†† six ; to Abareeck, six ; to Alebogan,‡‡ nine. This town is on the banks of a great river, the Cow,§§ which descends from Kabul. To Gelala-

narrow form, having its two sides and eastern end resting upon the edge of raynes, which divide it from a tableland of elevation equal to that of the hill on which the fort stands. The western face of the plateau is washed by the small river Gham running at its base. The fort was built by Shér Sháh, and extended by Salóm Sháh, as a check on the wild Gakhar tribe.

* Rawal Pindí is about sixty-eight miles east of the Indus ; it is well-known as a British cantonment. De Laët's route coincides minutely with Jahángir's route from Rahtá's to Kabul, so excellently described by the emperor in his memoirs (*Tuzuk i Jahāngiri*, Snayyid Ahmad's editions, pp. 46 to 51), where the curious will find the etymologies of the names Hattíá and Pakkah, chronicles and interesting descriptions of Rawalpindí, the Kálápaní, and the fish-tanks near Hasan Abdál, with Raja Man Singh's villa.

† Kalipani is now called Kalisura, and is a few miles south of Huzara.

‡ Hassan-Abdul, about twenty-four miles from the Indus, and very near Huzara, was so called from its being the burial-place of a Muhammadan saint of that name, known in Kandahar as Baba Wali. This valley was the favourite resting-place of the Moghul emperors in their

annual migrations to Kashmir, but the gardens and palaces have long gone to ruin.

§ This fortress was erected by Akbar in 1581.

|| Peshawar.

¶ This locality is called Ali Masjid, a halting place in the Khyber district, named from a Muhammadan saint called Hazrat Ali. See Masson's *Travels in Afghanistan*, &c. vol. 1, page 149. The "King's enemies" here mentioned were probably the Afredí tribes of Khyberis. Masson says they can now muster, according to their own account, forty thousand fighting men.

** This is now called Daka, described by Masson as "a small fort and village dependent on Jelalabad, at the mouth of the Khyber Pass."

†† Called by Masson, Bassowal, where he found an enclosed village and two or three agricultural castles. He says, "it appears to occupy an ancient site."

‡‡ This is Ali Baghan, between Surhh Dewal and Jelalabad, called in some maps Alec Boolghan.

§§ Masson says of this river, "the central river [of the tributaries of the Kabul River] which joins that of Nad-jil, is more considerable, and is said to have a far longer course. It is the only one which has a peculiar name, or one independent of the localities

bade,* four coss; to Lowre-Charebage,† four; to Budde-Charebage, six; to Nomla,‡ eight; to Gondoma,§ four; to Surcrood,|| a saray, four. At this place is a little river, whose waters are red, and are said to be very beneficial to a weak stomach. To Zagdele,¶ eight coss; to Abereek,** eight; to Dowabam, eight, and across a huge mountain; to Buttacaucke,†† eight; to Kamree, three; and finally to Kabul, three.

Kabul is a very extensive city, having two very strong fortresses and very many sarays. It was formerly the capital of the ancestors of the king who now rules over India.

About twenty coss beyond this town is Chare-Cullouw,‡‡ a very pleasant city; and about twenty coss further is the great city of Gorebond,§§ on the frontiers of the Usbecq territory, the capital of which is Samarcand.

The kingdom of Kabul (says Texeira) was formerly subject to Persia. The journey from Kabul to Lahore formerly occupied three months, for it was necessary to make a great circuit on account of the robbers. Now it can be performed in twenty or twenty-five days, since a great number of forts have been constructed on the Royal road at certain intervals. From this province is obtained a species of *m rabolani*, which are called in the shops Kebuli; the Arabs and Persians call this fruit *Aliluh*, and the Indians have corrupted the name into Arare.

From Kabul to Cascar,||| they say, is a journey of three months by caravan. Cascar is a most extensive kingdom, subject to a Tartar prince. Its principal mart is called Yar-Chaun; ¶¶

through which it passes, and is called Kow, pronounced exactly as the English word Cow. . . . Of the river Kow nothing is known, beyond the fact of its junction with the former at Tirgari, having traversed the eastern part of the valley of Tughman, named Alingur."

* Jelalabad.

† Either this village or the next on this route must be the Chahar-Bagh of Masson. This route is still the high road between Peshawur and Kabul, but Masson diverged considerably from it, both between the Khyber Pass and Jelalabad, and also west of the latter place, for greater security of travelling.

‡ Nimla.

§ Gandamak.

|| Masson says, "besides the Kabul river, the plain is copiously irrigated by other streams, and not-

ably by the Surkh-Rúd (the red river), which enters it from the west and falls into the main river at Darunta." The name of the river is here given to the serai on its banks.

¶ Called by Masson Jigdillak; mentioned also by Elphinstone as one of the chief towns of this district.

** Marked in Elphinstone's map as "Areekah.

†† Bhut Khak, near Khurd Kabul, or little Kabul. See Masson, vol. 1, page 188.

‡‡ This is probably Cherekur on the road to Ghorband.

§§ The town of Ghorband, the capital of the district of that name, is the most important place in the Kohistan of Kabul.

||| Kashgar.

¶¶ Yarkand.

from which is brought a great quantity of silk, musk, rhubarb, and other merchandise. These commodities are brought from the realm of China into this country, for it is said that it is only three months' journey from the Chinese territory.

What we have said above about the length of the journey from Lahore to Kabul as it was formerly, is fully confirmed by the itinerary of Benedict à Goes, a Portuguese Jesuit. He started from Lahore on the sixth of January 1603, and arrived in Athoc (or Attock as we called it above) in the space of one month. Thence after two months he arrived at Passaur; thence, by a journey of twenty days, he went to Gidele,* and the same number of days brought him from Gidele to Kabul. From Kabul he went to Ciarcar;† and thence to Parva,‡ which is the last town that is subject to the Mogul.

THE PROVINCE OF CHYSMERE OR CASSIMERE.—The road from the city of Lahore into the extensive province of Cassimere is as follows. Taking at first the route given above to the famous mart Guzarat, we then turn towards the north from this city to Bimbar, § sixteen coss. To Joagek-Hateley, fourteen coss; to Cinguesque-Hately, || ten coss; to Peckly, ¶ ten; to Conowa, twelve; hence to the mountainous Hastchauneket-gate (on the top of which there is a beautiful plateau), eight coss. From this place to the metropo-

* This is probably the Zagdele or Jigilllak mentioned above.

† This is doubtless the Charekur mentioned above in Kohistan.

‡ Perwan is a town close to the southern slope of the Hindu Kush mountains. Masson states that Benedict Goes, a Jesuit, crossed the Hindu Kush in 1603, by the pass of Perwan, to Anderab.

§ Called by Rennell Behmbur or Benber. Abul Fazl makes Chember one of the sub-divisions of the Subah of Kashmir. He adds, "There are twenty-six roads into Hindustan, but those of Benber and Puckoli are the best."

|| At Chingiz Hatli Jahangir died. De Laët here helps us to fix the correct pronunciation of the name; vide *Calcutta Review*, October, 1869, on the death of Jahangir.

¶ Abul Fazl says that Kashmir has "Puckoli and Krishnagunga on the west." Krishnagunga or Kisingunga is the name of a river

(said in the *Ain-i-Akbari* to contain gold-dust) in the district of Pehkely or Puckely. Mr. Forster (who travelled in these parts in 1784) was obliged to avoid this district on account of its disturbed state. Rennell says of it: "Pehkely, I take to be the Pactya of Herodotus, Bk. iv., (as well as the Peucelaotis of Arrian, from whence Scylax set out to explore the course of the Indus," under the orders of Darius Hystaspes. But this is wrong, as the Peucelaotis of Arrian was west of the Indus, and Pakhalé is on the east (Arrian iv, 22).

The district of Pakhalé according to the *Akbar-namah* was 3½ kos long, and 25 broad. During Akbar's reign it was ruled over by Sultan Husain Khan, a descendant of the Kárlughis, which tribe was left in Pakhalé by Timur on his return from India to Turan. The district after a short resistance was annexed by Akbar in the 35th year of his reign.

lis Cassimere,* which some call Syrinaker, is a distance, of eight coss through a most delightful country.

The city is situated on the river Bahat.† The plain around it, as far as the mountains, is said to be about a hundred and fifty coss in length and fifty coss in breadth; and to abound in all manner of crops. The women of this country are said to be of a white colour. The climate is somewhat cold; there are frosts and deep snows in the winter. The country is almost contiguous to Cascar, but divided from it by such inaccessible mountains that there is no possibility of caravans passing between the two realms: now and then the journey across the mountain has been accomplished with the utmost difficulty on foot. In these mountainous regions are the dominions of a Prince named Tibbon; he is very poor and with few resources; yet on one occasion he sent one of his daughters to be married to Selim the Emperor of India‡ This country is also contiguous to the two kingdoms of Thebet. Its chief product is saffron.

In the itinerary of Benedict à Goes is shown the route to Cascar from the kingdom of Kabul; which we consider sufficiently important to be inserted here. He set out from Parua, the boundary town of Kabul, and after a most difficult journey of five days over lofty and almost impassable mountains, he descended into the country of Aingar;§ and then after fifteen days he came to Calcia,|| whose inhabitants, he says, are like our Dutch countrymen. Thence, by a journey of ten days, he went to Gialalabattia; where the Bramenes exact tribute in the name of King Bruarates. Then, after fifteen days' journey, he arrived at Talha; thence to Cheman, which is a town subject to Abdulahan, the King of Samarhan, Burgavia,¶ Bacharate, and other provinces. Thence, by a difficult journey of eight days, to

* This city is called Cashmere by Bernier and Forster, and most travellers of the last century; but in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and all other native histories it is called Sirinagur.

† The Behat or Jhelum. See, Part I, *Calcutta Review*, No. CII page 339, note.

• † Moghul historians called him *Ali Râi*, ruler of *Little Tibet*. Jahângîr married his daughter in 1591.

§ This is Anderab, mentioned by Masson (see note above); it is placed in Elphinstone's map north of the Hindu Kush, east of Ghazî (called by Rennell, Gaur) and south-east of Kunduz. It is in the country of the Sta-

posh tribes, in the south-east of Balkh, the ancient Bactria.

|| This is probably Chal, placed by Elphinstone near Kunduz. If this be correct, Benedict Goetz made a long circuit between Anderab and Badakhshan.

¶ Burgavia and Bacharate are evidently two forms of Bokhara.

Abdullah Khân is the well-known Abdullah Khân, Uzbek, of Bukhara, the contemporary of Akbar, Jahângîr and Shâhjahân.

Talha, just now mentioned may be Talk or Talki, Long 81°, Lat. 41°, near the Ili River, which flows into the Balkash. Chaman is Chaman-kand N. E. of Tashkand.

Badascian,* and Ciarcunar; thence, in ten days, to Serpanill; and, in twenty days more, to Sarcil,† a province containing a great number of villages. Two days' journey from this place is a mountain called Ciecialith‡ white with snow. Having crossed this mountain with great loss of men through the intense cold, the travellers arrived at Tanghetar.§ in the kingdom of Cascar; in fifteen days they arrived at Jaconich, and at length they reached Hiarchan, (or, as we have above called it, Yar-Chaun,) the Capital of the Kingdom of Cascar. Benedict set out from this place with a caravan in the middle of November 1604; he visited Jolci, Hancialix-Alceyhet, Hagabethet, Egriar, Mesetelec, Thalec, Horma, Thoantac, Mingrieda, Capetalcol, Zilan, Sarc, Guedelal, Canbasci, Aconsersec, Ciacor, and Acsu,|| by an extremely difficult journey of twenty-five days over rocks and deserts. They call the deserts Caracathay; thence he came to Ortograch, Gazo, Cascia, Dellas, Saregabedal, Ugan, and Cucia; and thence, by a twenty-five days' journey, to Ciali, the Governor and Sovereign of which place is an illegitimate son of the king of Cascar. Thence, in twenty days, he came to Pucia; then to Turpha, a fortified town; then Aramuth, and finally to Camul,¶ the furthest town of the kingdom of Ciali. Nine days' journey from this place brings one to the wall which fortifies the kingdom of the Chinese on the north. But let us return to the point whence we set out.

* THE COUNTRIES WHICH LIE EAST AND SOUTH OF LAHORE.— Crossing the river Ravee, and following its course upwards towards the east, we come to the province subject to Raja Bossow, whose metropolis is called Temmery,** fifty coss from Lahore. This

* This is of course Faizabad, in the district of Badakshan. The road appears to strike due north from this place, until it reaches the Oxus or Panj-Ama, the valley of which it probably follows to the passes over the Belot Tagh.

† This is Sarkil, and is evidently identical with Elphinstone's Surik-Kol, a town on the route from Badakshan to Yarkand, close to the southern slope of the Karakorum mountains, or Muz Tagh. There is also a lake here, from which issues the Oxus or Amu.

‡ This is obviously a peak of the Karakorum.

§ Marked Tungee Tar in Elphinstone's map. It is immediately north of the Pass of Chiltung over the Karakorum leading from Surik-Kol.

|| Acsu, or Aksu, is a town on the caravan route, east of Kashgar.

¶ This is Khamil or Hamil, in Central Mongolia, about Long. 95°. West of it towards Long. 90° lies Turfan, which is not to be confounded with Ush or Ush-Turfán N. E. of Káshghar. Cucia, mentioned above, may be Kutshe, about half-way between Káshghar and Turfan.

** This territory lies between the Bias and the Ravi. Rájá Báśú zamindar of Pathán (Pathan Kot) and Man, was mentioned above. De Laté's Temmery should be Dhaméri (Long. 75°, 40, Lat. 32°, 12) the old name of Núrpúr. To honour Jahángír, whose name was Núrud-dín, Rájá Báśú changed the old name Dhaméri to Núrpúr. The

86. *Topography of the Mogul Empire.*

prince is most powerful, but he is subject to the Mogul Emperor, and a great favourite. From his territories very many simples are brought, which are obtained in great abundance in the mountainous districts.

To this are adjacent the territories of another Raja, whom they call Tulluck-Chan. His metropolis is Nogarcut,* eighty coss from Lahore, and the same distance from Siryna. Here there is a famous temple or pagode called Io or Durga, about which many marvels are told. This prince sometimes becomes so insolent on account of the inaccessible mountains which he inhabits, as not to regard even the majesty of the Mogul.

Next to him, on the east, is Decamperga, a very powerful prince, whose capital is Calsery, one hundred and fifty coss from Agra. This province is so populous, that in a very short time he can collect an army of fifty thousand men—chiefly infantry, the country not possessing many horses.

Adjacent to this province, on the east, between the Rivers Jemina and Ganges, is the province of Raja Mansa. This prince is so rich that his food is always given to him on dishes of solid gold. His capital is Serenagar.† It is shut in by mountains called the Dow-lager, whose summits are covered with snow, though the country is not more than forty degrees north of the equator. It is a very fertile region, distant from Agra two hundred coss, from Siryna fifty.

Across the Ganges a most powerful prince rules, called Raja Rodorow.‡ He possesses a very extensive mountainous territory, the metropolis of which is Camoio § its limits are said to extend to those of China. He can bring into the field an immense force of infantry, but cannot use cavalry on account of the steepness of the mountains, whilst elephants are excluded by the cold. He has, however, a race of horses which they call *Gunts*; these seem to be formed by nature for climbing steep mountains.

To the south, across the channels of the Ganges, a very powerful Mugg Rajah possesses a province which abounds in horses and

numerous Nûrpûrs in the Punjab refer all to Jahângîr or Nûr Jahân.

* Nagarcot, or Kangra, has already been described. Part I, *Calcutta Review*, No. CII, p. 344. Regarding the Durga Temple, *vide Calcutta Review*, for October, 1869.

† Srinagar in Gurhwal, formerly the residence of the Rajas of Gurhwal.

‡ Rudra.

§ This is undoubtedly Kumaon. Buchanan relates that Akbar sent an

army into Kumaon, which besieged Almora, but was defeated by the Raja Rudra. The latter, pursuing his success, advanced into the plain and made himself master of a considerable tract along the base of the mountains. Akbar, in accordance with his usual policy, granted these lands to the Raja in jagir, and treated him with great favour, allowing him to coin money. In the 33rd year of Akbar's reign, he paid his respects personally at court.

elephants; it is said that there are also some very rich diamond mines. Below this district, and amongst the mouths of the Ganges, a Pathan prince reigns,* who is descended from the kings of Delly. The Mogul has never been able to subdue him on account of the many branches of the Ganges and the numerous islands. His territory is adjacent to Purroopia, into which he makes frequent incursions, so that the Mogul is compelled to maintain a large garrison here at a great expense.

Hence to the mouths of the Ganges the whole country is subject to the Mogul, with the exception of one fortress which is held by some Portuguese exiles. Across the Ganges is the powerful realm of Arracan, which is bounded on the east by Siam, Ova,† and Jangoma.‡ Between Tanassar and Arracan is the kingdom of Pegu, now somewhat extensive; south of which are Queda,§ Malacca, &c. On the shores of this sea the Mogul King has two chief ports—Ongole|| which the Portuguese unlawfully hold; and Pipileya¶ called by some Petepoli, which is fifteen degrees and thirty-six minutes north of the equator. Beyond which, passing westward through the province of Orixá, we reach the province of Golconda, which Selim endeavoured to conquer in the year 1609. Its principal port is Musulipatam,** which is distant from the equator

* This can only refer to the descendants of Osmañ, the Johárfi Afghan, who after his wars with Mán Singh in Orissa and Bengal, received lands east of Dacca. Osman was defeated in Eastern Bengal and killed by the imperialists in the seventh year of Jaláingir's reign.

† Ava.

‡ Probably Changamai, to the east of Ava. The East India Company had an agent here as early as 1614; and we have frequent mention of the place in the early records of the India Office. In a letter from Patani in Siam (the head quarters of the early British trade east of Surat) dated July 28, 1614, the writer says:—"Could more of the factors from Bantam have been spared, I would have taken them for the trade betwixt Siam and Langfan, Jangama, Pegu, &c." In the same letter is an account of the difficulties of the trade through Ava; "the King of Pegu making war against the King of Siam."

§ That part of the Malay peninsula which is opposite to Prince of Wales'

Island, and which contains Wellesley Province, is still called Queda. The Portuguese had an extensive trade in these parts in the sixteenth century. In a Report from Fulke Greville (in the interest of the East India Company, and to obtain the charter shortly afterwards granted by Queen Elizabeth) to secretary Sir Robert Cecil, is the following:—"The Portugals also traffic at Narsinga, Orixen, and Bengalen; also at Aracan, Pegu, Siam, Tanassaria, and Queda."

|| Hooghly; see below, p. 101.

¶ By comparing this passage with the sentence that follows, and with the mention of Pipley below, it is evident that the port intended is Pipley near Balasore (described in Part I, *Calcutta Review*, No. CII, p. 347) long the headquarters of British trade in these parts. But the latitude given is that of Pettapoli, a port situated a little to the south of Masulipatam.

** The latitude of Masulipatam is given a little too far south. This was the great mart for the trade between Surat on the west, and Patani and

fifteen degrees and fifty-seven minutes, north. The royal cities are Braganadar,* and Golconda,† very recently founded. Following the shore of the sea further, we reach the kingdom of Bisanagar,‡ in which the Portuguese hold the towns of St. Thomas,§ and Negapatan.|| But of these we shall speak hereafter.

THE PROVINCE OF PURROPIA.—The route from Agra to Hala-basse, which is a fortress in Purroopia, is as follows;—From Agra, across the river Jemina, to Amedipore,¶ eight coss. Here a large quantity of indigo is prepared which they call Cole; it is of inferior quality and is either consumed in India or sent to Samarcand and Cascar, but never exported to Europe. Hence to Itay, **

the numerous stations in the archipelago on the east. A factory was established here in 1611; at this time "Cattabashaw" (Kutb Shah), the King of Golconda, was called governor of Masulipatam. In the beginning of 1616, the factor here wrote to Sir Thomas Roe, that "the land is altogether revolted, and in an uproar through the war betwixt the Mogul's son [this was the occasion of Shah-jahan's great expedition to the Deccan, when Malik Amber was compelled to submit to the Mogul on the part of his nominal sovereign Nizam Shah, and to restore the fortress of Ahmadnagar] and Nissamsbaw and the king of this place named Cattabashaw." He adds that he has come to an agreement with the governor of Masulipatam to pay 4 per cent customs on goods, money to be free; the Dutch at the neighbouring port of Pettapoli paid only 3½ per cent, and had compounded for all customs at Masulipatam by a single payment of 20,000 ryals and the promise of 4,000 ryals a year.

* This is of course Bhagnagar, the Hindu name for Hydrabad. Rennell says, "Hydrabad or Bagnagar is the present capital of the Nizams of the Deccan; who since the dismemberment of their empire, have left Aurungabad, their ancient capital." Kutb Kuli founded the dynasty of Kutb Shah at Golconda near Hydrabad about the year 1500.

† Golconda is described by Rennell as a "celebrated fortress, occupy-

ing the summit of a hill of a conical form; about 5 or 6 miles WNW of Hydrabad and joined to it by a wall of communication." He adds, "it is deemed impregnable." The town is now in ruins; the fortress, wherein are deposited the treasures, &c., of the Nizam, is in good order; but is commanded by the summits of many of the surrounding mausolea of the former kings of Hydrabad.

‡ This is of course Bijayanagar. The power of the rajas of Bijayanagar or Carnata was destroyed by a confederacy of the Musalman kings of the Deccan in the battle of Talicot, A.D. 1565.

§ In the district of Chingleput, and about three miles from Madras to the south. St. Thomas was one of the most important stations of the Portuguese on the Coromandel coast. It subsequently belonged successively to the French, the Dutch, the King of Golconda, the Nabob of Arcot; and has been in British possession since the wars in the Carnatic. Its native name is Mailapur; it is often called in travellers' accounts, Meliapore.

¶ Negapatan near one of the mouths of the Cauvery. It was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1661; and thenceforward became the headquarters of the Dutch trade on the Coromandel coast.

‡ Amedipore is probably Muhammadpur, on the road from Agra to Calpee.

** This is doubtless Etawa, which

twelve coss. Here formerly one of the Potanensian kings dwelt, but now the city is nearly in ruins. The fort is situated on the top of a mountain which is precipitous on all sides. It is surrounded with a double wall. On its gate a human face is sculptured, which the Indians regard with a superstitious awe, and worship it by anointing it profusely with oil. Hence to Chappergat* twelve coss; here there is such a splendid saray that it looks like a fortress rather than a hostelry. To Menepore† twelve coss; and then along the bank of the Ganges to Halabasse, twenty coss.

The city is on the banks of the Ganges, and was formerly called Praye. Various Potanensian (Pathan) kings vainly endeavoured to erect a fortress here, but Achabar, the Mogul king, at length laid its foundations, and (as we are told) employed for many years more than twenty thousand workmen upon it. Nevertheless, it is not even yet completed. It is situated on the angle where the Jemina joins the Ganges. It is surrounded by three-fold walls; the one on the outside, which is the most lofty, is built of hewn red stones. In the interior is a column, or obelisk, standing fifty cubits out of the ground, and having (as it is believed) a far greater length buried in the soil.‡ It must have been the work of some great prince; all the Indians believe it to be Alexander's. Moreover, there is here a most magnificent royal palace, under which in a subterranean cavern are some Pagodas, the monuments, as the Indians vainly think, of Baba Adam and Mama Havah§ and their first offspring. They are persuaded that the first man either was created here, or, at all events, resided here a long time, and they profess to follow his religion. To these monuments people flock from all the provinces of India. Before they enter, they bathe in the Ganges, and shave their heads and beards; when they have performed these rites, they believe that they are cleansed from all sins.

From this town in the months of October and November, on the breaking up of the snows, many boats descend the river to Bengal. The navigation is very perilous.

Four coss below the town, on the right and left banks of the river respectively, are two strong fortresses, Harryle|| and Hussoc, built by the Potanensians.

* was a town of great importance under the Muhammadans. The son-in-law of Baber was its governor.

• Chuppughatee, in the district of Cawnpore, is a village on the route from Allahabad to Etawa, and 74 miles south-east of the latter. It is on the river Seengoor or Kurn, here crossed by a ford.

† Manikpur, in Oudh, a town for-

merly of much importance, but now much decayed.

‡ The well-known *Gada*, or club of Bhim Sen. The notice in the text is, perhaps, the earliest mention that we have of this column.

§ i.e., Mother Eve.

|| This is probably Arail, which is however not so far from Allahabad, Hussee is Jhozi.

In this province of Purropia is situated Potana,* a vast city, with a fortified citadel, in which the royal treasures are kept. From this town the Potanensian kings derived their name, of whom I have had to speak on several occasions; or rather, they gave their name to the town. Emerging from the mountains between Candahar and Kabul, they spread themselves over India; and having conquered Rase Pethory,† the king of Delhi, for a long time they were supreme in the country, until at length they were conquered by the Moguls in their turn.

THE ROUTE FROM AGRA TO JOUNPORE.—From Agra to Cannouwe,‡ one hundred and thirty coss towards the east. It is a large town, but surrounded by no walls; it is at the foot of a hill, on the summit of which is a strong fortress. The Ganges§ used formerly to flow round this hill, but now it has broken through a bank about four miles distant, and only a little channel is left that preserves its name.

From Cannouwe,|| thirty coss; this also is a great mart. To Oudee,¶ fifty coss; this is an ancient city, and was once the seat of the Potanensian Kings; it is still rather extensive.

Not far from the town are seen the ruins of the fortress and palace of Runichand,** whom the Indians consider the chief of the gods. They say that he became incarnate, in order to go and see the great Tamasha†† of the world. Amongst these ruins, certain Bramenes dwell. These very carefully take down the names of all those who have properly purified their bodies in the neighbouring river; and this custom has been preserved for very many centuries, according to their fabulous stories. At the distance

* Patna is described in the first part as the metropolis of a province of the same name.

† This name is evidently a corruption of that of Raja Prithwi. He was also called Raja Pithora.

‡ The celebrated town of Kanauj.

§ The Ganges is now ten miles distant from the town; but the "four miles" are probably Dutch miles, and in that case the relative position has been unaltered for the last two hundred and fifty years. The "little channel" of the text is now called the Kali Nadi.

¶ Lucknow.

|| Oudh or Ajodhya, close to the modern site of Fyzabad, probably the most ancient city of India. The statement in the text, that it "is

still rather extensive," is hardly strong enough to bear out the assertion in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, that it was at that time, though decayed, still one of the largest towns in India.

** Still called the Ramghur. Popular tradition assigns the destruction of these palaces or temples to Aurangzib; but the statement in the text shows that they were in ruins, at all events before 1631. An inscription on the mosque on the site states that it was founded by Baber.

†† Thus writes De Laët:—"ut magnam mundi Tamasham viseret." This was, doubtless, the expression used by the Brahmins about Vishnu's seventh avatar as Rama; it does not appear whether De Laët understood the word *tamasha*.

of about two miles from these ruins is a cave; its mouth is very narrow, but within, it is so spacious, and bewildering on account of its numerous recesses, that it is difficult to find one's way out again. Here the ashes of that god are said to be hidden. People come hither from all parts of India; and after duly paying their devotions to the idol, they take away with them, as a testimony of their visit, certain grains of rice which are blacker than coal, which also, as they believe, have been preserved here for many ages.

From Oudee to Achabarpore,* thirty coss. From this place about thirty coss, off this road, is Bonarce,† a grand emporium for the merchandise of Bengal. To Jounpore,‡ thirty coss. This town is situated on the banks of a river whose banks are connected by a noble bridge, on which many houses are built. It boasts of a citadel,§ formerly a seat of the Potanensian kings, and some very elegant buildings. The town is said to be about eight or ten coss in circumference.

Returning to Halebasse by another road in the direction of Agra one hundred and ten coss, whereof thirty are through a vast and continuous forest.

THE ROUTE FROM AGRA TO HAMETEWAT, OR AMADAVAR.—From Agra|| to Amadavat, in the province of Guzuratte, the road passes through Fettiopore,¶ Scanderbade,** Hindoine,†† Chenigom, Mogolseray, Nonnigong, at the foot of the mountains which are held by two Rahias of the middle rank. Hence, to the left, the mountains of Marva (of which we have elsewhere spoken) stretch, covering a vast extent of country. Further, through Gamgram, Charroit, the seat of the ancestors of Rahia Manising,‡‡ through Landany,§§ Monsalade, Bramderandem, to Asmeer.

* Akbarpur is a small town in Oudh on the road from Fyzabad to Jounpur, and thirty-six miles south-east of the former. The distances in the text, and also the relative positions of Allahabad, Oudh, Jounpur, and Benares, are obviously inaccurate.
† Benares. The road to this place from Akbarpur now passes through Jounpur.

‡ Jounpur on the banks of the Goomtee. The "noble bridge" (which was nearly new when this was written by De Laët) has stood all the floods and dangers of three centuries, and still remains comparatively unimpaired. It is said to have been commenced in the year 1564, and to have been completed in three years. by Fahim, a freedman of Munim Khan, an officer high in the confi-

dence of Akbar.

§ This fort was built by Firoz Shah Toghluk in the year 1370. During the reign of Sultan Ibrahim of Jounpur (circ. 1409) the court of Jounpur far outshone that of Delhi, and was the resort of all the learned men of the east.

|| The route here given lies mainly through the territories of Jeypore.

¶ See p. 71.

** Near Biana.

†† See note, p. 73.

‡‡ Raja Man Singh was the nephew and adopted son of Raja Bhagavan-Das of Amber. The road from Agra to Ajmir now passes through the modern town of Jeypur; the Charroit mentioned in the text was probably near this site.

§§ Now called Judanah, between

Asmeere is an impregnable fortress, placed on the top of a mountain which is very precipitous, and has a difficult ascent of three coss. But the town itself, which is only of moderate size, is situated at the foot of the mountain, and is surrounded by a stone wall and a wide ditch. Its houses are built of mud. Outside the walls many objects of antiquity are to be observed. The town is chiefly celebrated on account of the tomb of Hoghe Mondee,* a saint singularly venerated by the Moguls. The approach to the tomb is through three very large courts. The first of these is almost an acre in extent, paved with white and black marble. Here are several monuments of Musalman saints; and on the left is a very beautiful lake surrounded by a wall. The second court is paved like the first, but with more exquisite workmanship; in the midst hangs a chandelier with many lights. The entrance to the third court is through a brazen door exquisitely wrought. It is far more beautiful than the two that precede, especially in the part near the gate of the monument itself, the entrance of which is covered with pearl shells. The pavement about the tomb is covered with marble. The tomb itself is variegated with gold and pearl-shells, with an epitaph written in Persian. Not far off is the seat of the saint, from which, as from a tripod, he used to deliver oracular responses. On the eastern side there are three other courts, each with its tank; and on the north and south are beautiful houses in which the priests dwell. One may only enter these places with bare feet.

Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of the king of Great Britain at the Mogul Court, says that near Asmeere is the town of Godah,† situated in a most fertile and pleasant plain. This town is well fortified, and has some very fine houses, yet it is fast becoming ruined. It was formerly the seat of a Rashboot prince, whom Achabar Sha reduced to subjection. The city was built at the foot of a somewhat steep rock. In traversing it, there may be seen even at the present day many monuments elegantly constructed out of the living rock, and many tanks surrounded by strong walls.

Sir Thomas Roe also tells us that Asmeere is twenty-five degrees and thirty minutes north of the equator; that it is distant from Agra two hundred English miles, or ten days' journey towards the south; and that it is four hundred and fifty miles north of Baram-pore.

Jeypur and Ajmir.

* Khájah Mu'iuuddin* mentioned above, p. 72.

† This seems to refer to Kotah, the

capital of the Rajput State of the same name. Rao Soorjun of Boondee and Kotah submitted to Akbar in 1569.

From Asmeere* the road goes to Cairo; to Mearta,† which has a very strong fort, some most beautiful tanks, and three temples, or pagodes, adorned with rich offerings. To Pipera,‡ Jongesgong, Seterange, Candempe, Jeloure,§ Mudra, Bilmall. The last was formerly a most extensive city, about twenty-four coss in circumference, now it is almost destroyed, but possesses, even at the present day, the ruins of walls. Last of all, to Amadavar.

ANOTHER ROUTE FROM AGRA TO ASMEERE.—From Agra to Fettipore, twelve coss; to Bramobad, twelve coss; to Hendowne, twelve; to Mogulseray,|| fourteen; to Lascotte, twelve; to the town of Chadsoole,¶ thirteen; to Pipela, seven; to Mosobade, thirteen; to Bandersandre, a little village, ten coss; to Mandil, twelve coss; to Asmeere, two coss.

THE ROUTE FROM AMADAVAR TO LOURE-BANDER, THE FAMOUS PORT OF TUTTA.—The commencement of the road** from Amadavar to Tutta, or Tatta, the great emporium of Sinde, is as follows: To Cassumparo; to Callitalowny, a beautiful fortress; to Calwalla, a pleasant village, seven coss. This village King Achabar settled on certain girls and their posterity, on condition that they instructed their boys in the art of dancing. To Carrya,†† a fortified citadel with a strong guard, eight coss; to Deccanaura . . . ; to Bollodo, ten coss. This is a fortress held by the Mogul Governor Newlock Abram Cabrate, who here rules over a tribe infamous for thievous propensities; the name of the tribe is *Coltes*.‡‡ To the fortress of Sariandgo, thirteen coss. To Radimpore,§§ a great town with its fortress. Hence, through an arid desert in which no water can be procured, sixty-seven coss to the village of Negar Parkar. In this desert are great numbers of wild asses, deer, foxes, and other wild animals.

* Here the route crosses the Aravali range.

† Meerta or Mearta, east of Jodhpur.

‡ Pipar is east of Jodhpur, between that city and Meerta.

§ The town and fortress of Jallor were described in Part I.

|| The two routes given are apparently identical up to this point, where probably the former one turned to the north-west towards Amber or Jeypur.

¶ Probably Chatsu or Chaksu, in Jeypur, eighty miles east of Nussirabad.

** This route runs from Ahmadabad in a north-westerly direction through the Guicowar's dominions to Rhaduupur.

†† This is perhaps Kurree.

‡‡ All this part of the country has a large Kuli population.

§§ Rhaduupore, the capital of a petty State dependent on the Guicowar. It is on the Bunnass river; and is still an important station on the road from Ahmadabad to Hyderabad in Sind. At this point the road crosses the Runn of Cutch, which is stated by Hamilton to be only thirty-five miles in breadth here.

Between this place and Inne (which is only half a day's journey from Tutta), are barbarous tribes who acknowledge no master, but plunder travellers at their will, or guide them on the payment of tribute. When the king sends any troops against them, they burn their huts, which are built of straw, and retire to the fastnesses of the mountains.

From Parkar to Burdian,* twenty-four coss, through a country which is devoid of water, except that which is salt and unwholesome. Thence to Nuraquimire, (a little town) through a similar desert, fifty-seven coss. Thence to Gundiauw, ten coss; to Saruna,† a large town with a fortress, whose inhabitants are Rashpotes, ten coss; and finally to Tutta, fourteen coss.

Tutta is by far the largest emporium in India. Its principal port is Loure-bander,‡ which is three days' journey from the town. Here there is a commodious roadstead outside the mouth of the river Indus, freer from worms than any other harbour in India. Surate is very bad in this respect. From this place one can ascend the river to the capital, Lahore, in two months; the descent is accomplished in one month. Moreover, merchandise is brought on camels from the other capital, Agra, to Buckar on the banks of the Indus, and thence to the ships in fifteen or sixteen days. This route would be a much more expeditious one than that from Agra to Surate, if it were not so exposed to robbers.

The mouth of that most noble river, the Indus, is twenty-four degrees and thirty-eight minutes north of the equator, according to my English authorities. Thence to the town of Diul,§ (not *Dive*, be it observed) fifteen miles. Here the governor of this province of Sinde resides in a strongly fortified castle.

* Budeyan and Bunder Lawrey are mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as the limits on the east and west, respectively, of the Sircar of Tatta, at that time a division of the Soubah of Multan. Inne appears to be Jun, east of Tatta.

† Seerannee, south-east of Tatta.

‡ Lahori-Bander was visited by Alexander Hamilton in 1699, when it was the most important port in Sind, easily accessible for ships of two hundred tons burthen. At the close of the last century it was the seat of an English factory; but it has fallen into decay in consequence of a bar which has formed at the mouth of the river which has destroyed the roadstead.

§ Maurice states that Tatta is

the Daibul of the Persian tables of Sir William Jones. The statement is made by Ferishta, who was probably followed by Maurice; but Elphinstone shows (Book v. cap. 1.) that Tatta cannot be Dival or Dewul (celebrated for the siege by the Arabs under Muhammad Qasim in 711) and suggests some port near Karachi. The port mentioned in the text appears to be the true Dival; it may, perhaps, be identified with Dabhu, at one of the mouths of the Indus, south-east of Karachi, which corresponds with the position given in the text. The point has been discussed also by Rennell, Burton, and many other writers, but with no satisfactory result.

THE ROUTE FROM LAHORE TO KANDAHAR. The road* from the capital Lahore to Kandahar is as follows: To Chacksunder, a small town, eleven coss; to Non Saray, fifteen coss; to Muttetay, eight coss; to Quemal-Chan, nineteen; to Herpack, sixteen; to Alicasava, twelve; to Trumba, twelve; to Sedoushall, fourteen; to Callixeckebande, fifteen; to Multhan, twelve. This is a large and ancient city, not more than three coss from the bank of the river Indus. Crossing the river at this point, the distance to Petto-Alle, a little village, is twenty coss. Here another river must be crossed in boats; and a little further on, a third river, smaller than the other two, which is called Lacca. From this point the road is over rugged mountains, and through a dry and desolate region infested by robbers, to Chatza, a little fort surrounded by an earthwork. Here the Mogul keeps a guard to protect the country against the robbers; there is, however, not much difference between the guards and the robbers. In the intervening road, nothing whatever can be obtained, except a little grass for the cattle in a few places. The inhabitants of the mountains of which we have spoken are called Agwanes,† infamous on account of their predatory habits.

From Chatza to Duckee,‡ a town inhabited by these barbarians, where the Mogul has a fortress and a stationary garrison, seventy-two coss. Throughout this part of the road the barbarians sell all kinds of provisions to travellers at a very cheap rate. To Secota,§ three villages which form a triangle at the base of the mountains, fourteen coss. Hence, to the Passes of the mountains, (called by the inhabitants Durues,||) where a small number of men can resist and hold in check a large army, about twenty-four coss. To Pesinga, a fort not unlike that at Duckee, twenty-three coss. Hence to Candahar, sixty coss, through vast mountains and by a road on which no food or provender can be obtained. In the mountainous regions of this kingdom of Kandahar there are ferocious tribes called Agwanes and Petanes.¶ They are very powerful in body, and of a somewhat lighter colour than the inhabitants of India, but infamous on account of their predatory habits and their signal cruelty. It is said that they have behaved somewhat more gently to travellers of late years, both on the account of their reverence for the Mogul, and because of the gain to be derived from commerce; still it not unfrequently happens that

* This route proceeds down the valley of the Ravee to Multan, then crosses the Ravee and the Indus successively, passing due west over the Soleiman Mountains to Dukkee, Quetta, and Kandahar.

† Agwán and Avgan, the same as

Afghan.

‡ Dukkee, or Ruh, a town in Seistan.

§ This is perhaps Quetta, between Kalat and Kandahar.

|| Probably *darwaza*, or *Doors*.

¶ Pathlana.

95. *Topography of the Mogul Empire.*

when they meet with a few strangers unprepared to resist them, they carry them off to the fastnesses of the mountains and reduce them to slavery—mutilating them to prevent any chance of escape.

Kandahar is an ancient town said to have been* inhabited formerly by Baneanes. At present the governor of the province resides here with twelve or fifteen thousand cavalry, who are maintained by the Mogul Emperor on account of the vicinity of the Persians on the north. The city has, on the west a precipitous and rugged mountain, and is surrounded on the south and east by a strong wall. On account of the greatness of the traffic, and for the sake of convenience, the suburbs are almost larger than the town itself. The supply of provisions of all kinds is here most abundant, but the price is very high, because of the great number of strangers, and more especially from the fact that the whole country between this city and Hispaan, the Capital of Persia, is very unfruitful. In many places, indeed, on that road, hardly any herbage is to be found; and there is, moreover, the greatest lack of water, except some that is salt and unwholesome.

My English authorities tell me that this city is thirty-four degrees north of the equator, and ninety-eight degrees from the first meridian.

From Kandahar to the village of Seriabé,* ten coss; to Deribage,† a little village, twelve; to Cushecuna,‡ eight. This last fortress marks the boundary between the dominions of the Mogul and the Persian.

THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL.—This kingdom, which the Moguls some years ago subdued and added to their empire, is most extensive, being one hundred and twenty leagues in length along the sea-shore, and of equal breadth inland. It is watered by the Chaberis,§ which some call the Guenga, and which most believe to be the Ganges of the ancients. This river comes down from the north-west, as I am told by my English authorities, and receives very many tributaries on both sides and especially from the north.

The province abounds in rice, in every kind of corn, in sugar, ginger, oblong pepper, cotton, silk; and rejoices in a very salubrious climate.

* The route here given is still the great road into Persia from Kandahar. Seriabé is now Shorab, or Sarab, west of the Helmund.

† Probably Doroha.

‡ Doubtless Kokshan near Furrah; it is near the Persian frontier on

the Kandahar road.

§ The name Camberis is given above (page 67) to the Chumbul. Some travellers, descending the Ganges from the Chumbul, would naturally call the river by the same name throughout.

The capital of the province is called Gouro,* next to which is Bengala.† Both are very famous and rich cities; from the latter, or from the kingdom itself, the Bay, which was formerly called Sinus Gangeticus, is now called Golfo de Bengala. Amongst other towns of the province may be noted Chatigan.‡ Tanda§ also is a famous emporium, distant about one mile from the bank of the Ganges.

Banaras is a vast city on the banks of the same river. Patanaw is a celebrated town, having wide streets, but its houses are small and built of turf. It was formerly the capital of an extensive and noble kingdom, which now, however, like the rest, is in subjection to the Mogul.

Orixa also belongs to this province. It was itself formerly a kingdom, but was conquered, first by the Potanensians, and recently by the Moguls.

The inhabitants of this kingdom are of a subtle, but depraved character; inasmuch as the men are infamous for their deceitful-

* This is of course the well-known city of Gaur, or Lakhnauti, called by Humayun Jennatabad, and supposed by some (see Rennell, p. 55,) to be the Gangia Regia of Ptolemy. It stood on the left bank of the Ganges, about twenty-five miles below Rajmahal.

† Rennell says:—"In some ancient maps and books of travels we meet with a city named Bengalla, but no traces of such a place now exist. It is described as being near the eastern mouth of the Ganges, and I conceive that the site of it has been carried away by the river, as in my remembrance a vast tract of land has disappeared thereabouts. Bengalla appears to have been in existence during the early part of the last century." In Foulke Grevil's report of 1600, (quoted in the note, p. 87), he speaks of the "Portugals trading, at Bengalen."

‡ Rennell says "Satgong or Sata-gong, now an inconsiderable village on a small creek of the Hoogly river about four miles to the north-west of Hoogly, was in 1566, and probably later, a large trading city in which the European traders had their factories in Bengal. At that time Satgong river was capable of bearing small vessels; and I suspect that its then course, after passing Satgong,

was by way of Adampour, Omptoh, and Tamlook." See below, p. 101; and also the note, first part, *Calcutta Review*, No. CII, p. 347.

§ Tanda or Tanra (called also Kluaspore Tanda, from the old name of its district, to distinguish it from the Tanda in Ondh) was for a short time, in the days of Shir Shah, the capital of Bengal; and became the recognised capital in the time of Akbar about 1580. Rennell says "it is situated very near the site of Gour, on the road thence to Rajmahal. Very little is remaining of the place save the ramparts. Nor do we know for certain when it was deserted. In 1659, it was the capital of Bengal, when that Soubah was reduced under Aurangzib; and Rajmahal, Dacca, and Murshedabad, appear to have successively become the capital after Tanda." Stewart (*History of Bengal*, p. 95) says that Tanda is not so near to Gaur as it is represented to be by Major Rennell:—"Tondah is certainly separated from Gour by the Bagamutty river, which Mr. Wilford supposes was the old bed of the Ganges." Stewart cites, in support of his assertion, the *Asiatic Researches*, 8vo. edition, vol. V. pp. 257, 272, 277.

ness and their thievish propensities ; the women for their immodesty and wantonness. They are chiefly of the Mahometan religion.

THE KINGDOM OF GOLCONDA.—Musilipatnam,* the principal port of the kingdom of Golconda, is situated on the Gangetic bay, sixteen degrees and thirty minutes north of the equator. It is a small town, but contains many inhabitants. It is not surrounded by walls, and is neither beautiful in its buildings nor convenient in its situation ; all its springs are salt, and yet its commercial advantages have changed what was formerly merely a nest of fishermen, into a great emporium.

The climate here is healthy. They divide the year into three seasons—of these the first, which includes March, April, May and June, they call summer ; for in these months the heat is so great as to be almost intolerable, the wind itself blowing from the west like fire. In July, August, September and October, the rain is incessant ; and sometimes storms come on with such fury that buildings are torn from their foundations. To these rains, however, and to the inundations which follow, the soil is indebted for its fertility. In the remaining four months the heat is tolerable. The soil is so fertile that it produces in many places two, and in some even three, crops of rice in the year. They have also wheat, and some other sorts of corn unknown to Europeans.

This kingdom gets its name from its capital and the residence of the King, Golconda†—called by the Mahometans and Persians, Hidraband. It is distant from Musilipatnam twenty-eight leagues (each league being equal to nine English miles) or ten days' journey. The city, both in the pleasantness of its climate and in the fertility of its soil, is inferior to none in all the East. The King's palace is of great extent, being twelve English miles in circumference. It is surrounded on all sides by walls. All the houses are built of stone, the principal ones being also richly adorned with gilding. What more need I say ?—the splendour and riches of the King are immense. For in number of elephants and in abundance of jewels and precious things he even vies with the Mogul Emperor ; though he is not equal to the latter in point of extent of territory. This Prince is of the Mahometan religion ; he derives his ancestry from the Persians, and belongs to their sect. His Gentile name is Cotub Sha, which has been handed down from his predecessors. He is not subject to the Mogul ; but in a friendly way acknowledges the majesty of the latter by yearly gifts. His annual revenues are said to be twenty lakhs or millions of pagodes ; the pagode in weight and value is equal to the French crown. He is the sole lord of the soil ; his subjects rent it from him at a great price.

* See note, p. 87.

† See note, p. 88.

On the frontiers and in the interior of this kingdom there are altogether sixty-six fortresses. Each of these has its governor, (these officers are called Naykes) and its garrison of soldiers. They are for the most part built on lofty rocks, accessible by only one narrow path. No one is permitted to enter any castle without the express orders of the prince. These rocks are called Conda.

One of these fortresses, which is called Condapoly,* close to the town of the same name, is of vast extent. It contains six castles; each is more lofty than the preceding one; each contains its own tanks, and groves of forest-trees and fruit-trees, and fields of rice. It has a garrison of twelve thousand men.

Between this fortress and another, which is called Condavera,† a distance of twenty-five English miles, there are watch-towers at certain intervals, through which, by means of lighted torches, news can be rapidly conveyed from one fortress to the other.

In this kingdom a few years ago some very rich diamond mines were accidentally discovered at the foot of a lofty mountain‡ not far from the river Christena, in a very sterile and rugged district, about a hundred and eight English miles from Masulipatnam. The king has been accustomed to lease the mines at an annual rent of three hundred thousand pagodes, with the following condition added: that all diamonds found above the weight of ten carats should be brought into his treasury. But in the year 1622 the mining was stopped by the king. Some say that the cause of this interdict was the fear that the value of the stones would be diminished by such rapid production: others say that it was owing to the demand of the Mogul Emperor who, by his ambassador, had ordered the king of Golconda to send him as tribute three pounds (they call it vyse) of the finest diamonds; but I believe it to be most likely that the mines had already been exhausted by the avarice of the miners. William Methold, an Englishman, tells us that he visited these mines. At that time (as he heard from those who know the particulars) there were thirty thousand labourers hard at work. Some of these were excavating the soil; others were carrying it away in baskets; others were drawing off the water by a tedious and laborious method (for these barbarians are not acquainted with any machinery), lifting it in vessels from hand

* Condapilly, a fortress in the district of Masulipatam. It was formerly noted for its strength; but of late years, according to Hamilton, "has been suffered to crumble into ruin." It is in latitude $16^{\circ} 38'$; longitude, $80^{\circ} 37'$.

† Rennell says of this fortress: "The fort of Condavir is the principal fort in the Guntoor circar; and is

strongly situated on a mountain eight coss to the west of Guntoor, according to Capt. Davis; and ten from the south bank of the Kistna."

‡ The Neel Mulla mountains. Rennell says, "Colour [Colloor or Barkalor] is a diamond mine on the southern bank of the Kistna, and not far from Condavir."

to hand. They, however, sink shafts into the bowels of the earth to the depth of about ten or twelve fathoms; and they spread the soil which is brought up on a floor smoothed for the purpose, to the thickness of four or five thumbs. This soil is generally of a reddish colour, streaked with veins of yellow and white chalk and lime. When it is hardened and dried by the sun, they break it with stones and pick out and fling away the flints. They then sift the dust that remains; and in this operation they discover the gems, sometimes in greater, sometimes in less numbers. Not unfrequently they find none, and thus lose their labour and time. Other gems are also found in this kingdom, but less valuable ones which are not worth the trouble of describing.

The other productions of this realm are—iron and steel (for neither gold, nor silver, nor copper are found here); Bezoar stones; cotton cloths of all kinds, especially those that are elegantly dyed and painted, in which art the Indians excel (they use chiefly for this purpose a plant which they call Chay, from which they obtain the most perfect and lasting red dye); annil, &c.

Large ships are built here of the finest timber (sometimes of the capacity of six hundred tons and upwards), but they are not so commodious nor so useful for warlike purposes as those built in Europe. In these they trade to Moha in the Red Sea, going thither in the month of January and returning in September or October. They sail to Achin, Areccan, Pegu, and Tanassarim in the month of September, and return in April.

THE ROUTE FROM AGRA TO CHATIGAN, A PORT OF BENGAL.—From Agra one descends the river Jemena to Prague (so the Englishman Ralph Fitch calls it; we said above that Halabasse was formerly called Praye; the site agrees, and the name is not very different). Here the Jemina falls into the Ganges, and takes the name of the latter river. From Prague, descending the Ganges, which here begins to be very broad, one reaches Bannaras. This is a very large town, whose inhabitants are almost all Gentiles, and wholly given to idolatry. From Bannaras to Patenaw, in the intervening journey, many towns are observed, and very numerous tributaries of the river.

Patenaw is a great town of considerable length; it is said that there are many gold mines in the district. The houses are small, built for the most part of mud and thatched with straw, but the streets are very broad. From Patenaw to Tanda, in Gour, a province of the kingdom of Bengal. Tanda* is one league distant from the bank of the Ganges, because the river at this place often overflows and inundates the surrounding country.

* See note above, p. 97.

At length we reach Chatigan, which is a beautiful town. It is distant one league from Ugeli* (or, as the Portuguese call it, Porto Piqueno), and is twenty-three degrees north of the equator.

Not far from this port to the south is another port called Angeli,† in the province of Orixa. The metropolis of the province, also called Orixa, is six days' journey from Chatigan.

THE PROVINCE OF MULTHAN OR MOLTAN.—Multhan is a very extensive province, and singularly fertile. It is also admirably adapted for commerce on account of the three rivers by which it is watered, and which unite not far from the capital.

The capital is called Multhan, or Moltan, which is distant from the royal city of Lahore one hundred and twenty coss. Through it passes the road by which the merchants travel from Persia through Kandahar to the various provinces of India. The three rivers are the Ravee, the Bahat or Behat, and the Sind or Indus; their course through this province is rapid. The chief productions are—sugar, of which large quantities are carried in ships down the Indus to Tatta, and also up the river to Lahore; also galls, opium, sulphur, and large quantities of linen and cotton cloths. The inhabitants are also very celebrated for the manufacture of bows.

E. LETHBRIDGE.

* This is of course Hoogly (Hugli), and the situation here given of Chatigan proves it to be identical with Satgong. See note, page 87. In a note to Stewart's *History of Bengal* is the following: "It is a circumstance worthy of remark that the name of Hoogly is never mentioned in Faria de Souza's *History of the Portuguese*. (the English translation of which was published in 1695); although he acknowledges that they lost a large town in Bengal in the year 1633, but which he calls *Golin*." The *Ugeli* and *Ougolee* of the text (above and at p. 87) furnish the link which connects Hoogly with Golin. But the word *Hâgli* is used by native historians of the 16th century.

† This is obviously Ingellæ, or Hidgelee, at the mouth of the Hoogly, opposite Saugor. It is interesting to compare the account given in the text with that given by the English some seventy or eighty years later, when Job Charnock and the English residents at Chuttanuddy (Calcutta) were compelled to take refuge here by Nawab Shaista Khan. Stewart says of it—"Injelee is an island in the mouth of the river Ganges, but separated from the western bank only by a narrow stream; the greater part of it is covered with long grass, the habitation of tigers; nor does it produce a drop of good water. In this spot, perhaps the unhealthiest of the whole province, Mr. Charnock pitched his camp."

ART V.—BRAHMISM—ITS HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

1. *Selections from several books of the Vaidanta, translated from the Original Sanscrita.* By Rajah Rammohun Roy. Calcutta: Printed for the Tuttobodheney Sobha, at the Tuttobodheney Press. 1844.
2. *A Brief Survey of the Calcutta "Brahma Samaj," from January 1830, the date of its foundation, to December 1867.* Calcutta: Printed by G. P. Roy & Co., 67, Emambaree Lane, Bentinck Street. 1868.
3. *A defence of Brahmoism and the Brahma Samaj:* being a Lecture delivered at the Midnapore Samaj Hall, on the 21st June 1863. Midnapore. 1863.
4. *A compilation of Theistic Texts from the Hindu, Jewish, Christian, Mahomedan and Parsee Scriptures.* Calcutta: Printed at the Kébya Prakásh and Oriental Press. Sakábdá. 1788.
5. *Atonement and Salvation,—Revelation,—Testimonies to the validity of Intuitions.* Parts I & II. Printed at the Calcutta Brahma Somaj Press.
6. *The Religious Prospects of India:* a Discourse read before the Society of Theistic Friends, in March, 1864, Calcutta: Printed at the Calcutta Brahma Somaj Press. Jorasanko, 1864.
7. *Jesus Christ—Europe and Asia:* being the substance of a Lecture delivered extempore in the Theatre of the Calcutta Medical College, on Saturday 5th May, 1866. Calcutta: J. N. Ghose & Co., Oriental Press. 1866.
8. *Great Men:* being the substance of a Lecture delivered extempore at the Town Hall, on the 28th September 1866.
9. *The Indian Mirror.*
10. *The Dhurma Tattwa.* Published at the Indian Mirror Press. Calcutta.

THE recent visit to England of Babú Keshub Chunder Sen, the recognized apostle of Bramhism, has brought this latest development of religious thought in India prominently under the notice of the English public; and as much interest has been awakened and expressed in regard to it, we propose to devote a few pages to a consideration of its history and literature. The influences and processes of mind that have resulted in the Brahma creed, are sufficiently indicated in the numerous publications, both in English and the vernacular, that serve as landmarks in its history, and no just estimate can be formed of either its present

attitude or its future, without a knowledge of the circumstances that gave it birth and of the modifications it has undergone.

Neander regards the faith of Islam as a 'development' of Christianity. This is a phrase apt to be misapplied, and therefore to be misunderstood. Regarded as a protest against the idolatrous practices that were paralysing the true life of the Christian churches of the East, Islamism may be said to have been the revival of that spiritual worship of the one God which lies at the root of the Christian religion, and which was threatened to be overlaid by the growing superstitions of the age. Though the spirit of Islamism, as this faith acquired political ascendancy, drifted further and further from the genius of the gospel, until the crescent became the avowed enemy of the cross, yet the germinal idea of Muhammadanism was undoubtedly derived from the Christian Scriptures. In like manner, Brahismism may, in some sort, be regarded as a development of Christianity. Christianity suggested it to the Hindu mind just awaking from the dream of ages, and but for the presence of Christianity in India, it would not have been. We are aware that this is a statement which would by no means find ready acceptance among the Brahmists; for with them the religion of intuition has always been independent of all historical creeds. But inasmuch as the movement, notwithstanding its professed character, has a history, we shall do well to consider it in the light of facts.

Brahmism owes its origin to Raja Rammohun Roy. Born in the district of Moorshedabad in 1772, it was not till he was over forty years of age that he attempted a religious reform among his countrymen. He came to reside in Calcutta in 1814, and very soon after sought to interest his friends in the subject that occupied his own mind. Of great natural ability, he also possessed a thorough scholarly acquaintance with the Sanskrit and Arabic languages. He had given much time to the perusal of the Sastras, or religious books of the Hindus, and of the Quran, and had accompanied the study of these books with the reading of the English Bible. Gifted with rare honesty of mind, his enquiries led him far in advance of his countrymen, who soon discovered that his faith in traditional Hinduism had dwindled to nothing. It was a far more serious matter than it is now, to disregard superstitious ceremonials or break through the restrictions of caste. The hostility to Christianity may not have been keener or intenser than it is at the present day, but it was more ignorant, more apprehensive, and therefore apt to be more violent. Rammohun Roy would have been unable to keep his religious sentiments a secret, even supposing he had desired to do so; and his secession from the grosser beliefs of his fathers and contemporaries, exposed him to persecution. Regarded as little better

than an infidel, he was on one occasion mobbed in the streets of Calcutta, and for some time his life was in danger. But this treatment did not deter him from his inquiries. That he might better understand all that was known among men respecting the worship of God, he gave himself to the study of the Hebrew and Greek languages, that he might, by a perusal of the Bible in its original tongues, enter more completely into the spirit of Hebrew and Christian devotion. As already hinted, he had by this time lost all faith in the prevalent idolatry, and rejecting the authority of the Puranas, he addressed himself to the Vedas, the oldest of the Hindu sacred books. He shared the common belief that the creed of his ancestors was monotheistic, and that the Puranas but represented the idolatrous degeneracy of later times. He was right as regards the Puranas, but mistaken as respects the Vedas. Having but just escaped from the grosser system of the former, his vision was not sufficiently clear to detect the pantheism with which the latter are saturated. He thought he saw pure deism in the Upanishads, or philosophical treatises that are attached to the Vedas ; and he circulated numerous translations from them among his countrymen. He also organized a society, not so much for the purpose of studying the Vedas, as of being brought under the influence of their supposed theistic teaching. Its 'proceedings,' we are told, consisted simply of the recitation of texts from the Vedas and the chanting of theistic hymns.

The opposition of those who had it in their power to poison the native mind against this zealous reformer, caused the death of the society almost as soon as it was born, and no new organization was attempted till the year 1830, when the Raja founded a prayer-meeting which may be regarded as the nucleus of what is now the Brahma Samáj. His views had in the meanwhile somewhat expanded ; for whereas the first society, formed in 1816, does not seem to have contemplated bringing together any but Hindus willing to escape from the degradation of a polytheistic worship, the trust deed of the building erected for the purposes of the prayer-meeting provided for people of all sorts and conditions, without distinction as to creed or colour. This document is of interest as indicating the progress the Raja's own mind had made in the matter of a spiritual worship, and of freedom from those religious prejudices which often linger and have force long after the religious reasons that gave them birth have been cast aside. The building, which stands in Jorasanko on the Chitpore road, was to be "a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people, without distinction, as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious and devout manner, for the worship and adoration of the eternal, unsearchable, and immutable Being who is the

“ Author and Preserver of the Universe, but not under and by any other name, designation or title, peculiarly used for and applied to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men whatsoever; and that no graven image, statue or sculpture, carving, painting, picture, portrait, or the likeness of anything, shall be admitted within the said message, building, land, tenements, hereditament and premises, and that no sacrifice, offering or oblation of any kind or thing shall ever be permitted therein; and that no animal or living creature shall, within or on the said message, building, land, tenements, hereditament and premises, be deprived of life either for religious purposes or food, and that no eating or drinking (except such as shall be necessary by any accident for the preservation of life); feasting or rioting, be permitted therein or thereon; and that in conducting the said worship and adoration, no object, animate or inanimate, that has been, or is, or shall hereafter become, or be recognized as, an object of worship by any man or set of men, shall be reviled or slightly or contemptuously spoken of or alluded to either in preaching or in the hymns or other mode of worship that may be delivered or used in the said message or building; and that no sermon, preaching, discourse, prayer or hymns be delivered, made or used in such worship, but such as have a tendency to the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the Universe, or to the promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue, and the strengthening of the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds; and also that a person of good repute and well-known for his knowledge, piety and morality, be employed by the said trustees or the survivor or survivors of them, or the heirs of such survivor, or their or his assigns, as a resident superintendent, and for the purpose of superintending the worship so to be performed as is hereinbefore stated and expressed, and that such worship be performed daily or at least as often as once in seven days.”

A prayer-meeting which all who chose might attend ‘without distinction,’ was an important advance on the society attempted to be formed of the few thoughtful and earnest men who had acquired a distaste for Pauranic worship; and this increased breadth of religious sentiment can be properly estimated only when we remember the ignorance and stubborn prejudices of those days as compared with the enlightenment and comparative social freedom of to-day. But Rammohun Roy had not yet shaken off a traditional preference for the Vedas. The prayer-meeting might be composed of men of all kinds without distinction of creed or colour, but the religious instruction to be communicated was still to come clothed with the authority of the Vedas. The only things read and expounded to the people on these occasions

were the Upanishads and other Vedantic authorities. The inference in the public mind naturally was, that Rammohun Roy's Deism, or Theism, if the Bramhists prefer the term, was held in subordination to the Vedas, and that in fact he was not so much a Theist as a Vedantist. It has been contended by the modern Bramhists that this inference was a false one ; but when we remember that an emancipation from religious bondage such as that which the mind of the Raja was at this time undergoing, must necessarily have been gradual, and accompanied by perplexing doubts and self-questionings such as would be unknown to those who occupied a higher moral platform or were accustomed to breathe in a purer social atmosphere, we are not only disposed to accept the inference respecting his special attachment to Vedantism, but to believe that it would have been strange if he had succeeded so early in breaking away from the authority of the Vedas. The Raja's inconsistency under the circumstances was very natural, and it does not seem necessary to excuse it on the ground that he simply desired to adapt the worship of the Samáj to the prejudices of the Hindus. That this consideration did influence him, however, may be freely admitted ; for we find that if on the one hand, "in the very infancy of the Samáj, Eurasian boys used to sing the Psalms of David in English, and Hindu musicians religious songs composed by Rammohun Roy and his friends in Bengali," on the other hand, he "was soon after obliged to give a more Hindu aspect to the Samáj for the propagation of the doctrine of the unity of God among his countrymen, and that to such a degree that the Vedas, which were now pronounced by him to be the chief guide of his followers in matters of religion, were read in an adjoining room accessible only to Brahmans, before public worship was held in the Samáj Hall." Possibly some national feeling was also mixed up with the reasons that induced him to give the Vedas the foremost place as the medium of religious instruction. As long as he believed them to teach pure theism, the preference was given to them, inasmuch as they formed a portion of the recognized Sastras of the people.

But whatever may have been the reasons that induced Rammohun Roy to give such prominence to the Vedas in a Samáj professedly catholic, certain it is that his action was in harmony with the feelings of the people whose good he specially sought. They accepted the theory of a catholic Samáj, but showed unwillingness to join in worship with foreigners, on the ground that it would identify them with Christians. The movement accordingly remained essentially Hindu. As the Raja's views expanded, however, he learnt to feel that he could not contend for an inspiration on behalf of the Vedas which he was not willing to allow to other religious books. The old Hindu theory of inspiration had broken

down. Whatever his fellow-worshippers in the Samáj might still think of it, with him the Munis, or ancient religious teachers of the Hindus, were no longer incarnations, and their knowledge was no longer of the superhuman kind obtainable only in a former birth. He felt his position among his countrymen to be a false one. He had entirely alienated from himself the sympathies of orthodox Hindudom; and the men who had so far triumphed over traditionalism as to join him in Vedantic worship, were not prepared to advance further. He could completely identify himself with neither Hindus nor Englishmen; and we have no doubt that it was this feeling of social isolation, as much as anything else, that prompted him to leave his native land and live in England. He took up his residence in Bristol, where he lived greatly esteemed till his death in 1835. The religious reform he inaugurated in Calcutta, threatened for some time after his departure, to die out and be forgotten. The Samáj continued to exist, the expenses being defrayed by Dwarkanath Tagore, and the religious services being conducted by Pundit Ramchunder Bidyabagesh; but nothing of the former interest was visible in its prosperity and in the growth of the new ideas that Rammohun Roy had sown in Hindu society. Nevertheless, though becoming less perceptible outwardly, that interest was by no means dying out. Rammohun Roy had departed and the influence of his personal presence was lost, but he was not forgotten. He had met with much opposition and had even been persecuted on account of his faith; and the few who gathered in sympathy round him were always fearful lest their sympathy should attract too much notice; yet he left not only a name, but the influence of a great and earnest spirit behind him. The Samáj did not prosper; but the seeds of a purer thought had quickened in the heart of Hindu society, and were already struggling to reach the light and the upper air. It was impossible that the singlehearted devotion, the strong honest mind, and the moral courage of such a man as the Rájá, should fail to make a profound impression on his countrymen. The grateful reverence with which his memory is still guarded by them, illustrates the universal principle of life springing from death. The dead leaves of autumn furnish fresh stimulus to the soil that feeds the parent tree, and give life to the new foliage of the spring; and so the influence of men's lives and sentiments is not fully realized till their work is done, and that which was purely personal has been separated from that which is ever abiding. The work accomplished by the reformers of the world is not the work which they did during their lives or during the period of their presence in the community they sought to benefit, but the results which have flowed from the great and quickening thoughts they left to germinate in the soil of society. So it was

with Rammohun Roy. It was not till after he had left his native land, and had bidden what proved to be a final adieu to those whom he had laboured to benefit, that his opinions seemed to gain hold of the consciousness of the upper classes of Hindu society. There were many who sympathised in his views, but there were more who lacked the moral courage to accept them.

The Samáj dragged on a dubious existence till the year 1841, when an effort was made to inspire it with new life. With the spread of education and the general advancement of knowledge, traditional prejudices were loosening their grasp, and the thoughts that had been sown by Rammohun Roy ten or fifteen years before, began to spring up and bear fruit. The English language had in the meanwhile begun to be vigorously studied. It aided the cause of religious reform by demonstrating the absurdity of the Pauranic worship ; and the youthful Hindu mind, once more brought up to the level of Rammohun Roy's teaching, and supported this time by the powerful interposition of Western ideas, began to speculate with a boldness that would have been inconceivable twenty years before. The atheistic school which was one of the first fruits of this sudden intellectual emancipation, died early, having been crushed out in no small measure by the earnest efforts of Dr. Duff. The creed of Rammohun Roy once more asserted itself, and this time met with a bolder and more open sympathy. Babu Debendronath Tagore, who had previously organized a society called the 'Tattwabodhini Sabha,' the object of which was to promote independent religious inquiry, assumed the leadership of the Samáj. He relinquished his prospects in business in order that he might give his whole time to this work of love ; and throughout his subsequent career he has been noted for his disinterested and earnest devotion to the cause of Brahminism. His personal character has lent a moral support to the movement. He provided the Samáj with a printing-press, spent a considerable sum of money in fitting up their hall of worship, and in course of time collected a valuable library of the sacred books of the Hindus, besides providing or the support for poor but promising students, sent to Benares to prosecute their study.

The 'Tattwabodhini Sabha,' which had identified itself with Brahminism, set on foot a vernacular newspaper called the *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, the main design of which was to combat the ignorant prejudices of the people, and familiarize their minds with the advanced thought represented by the Samáj. This paper has worked a double good. In the first place, it helped to undermine polytheism ; and in the second place, coming into existence at a time when Bengali literature was just beginning to be recognized as a possible power in native society, it greatly contributed to the formation of the public taste and the construction of a style classical and

vigorous, on which most of the subsequent vernacular literature has been modelled. To Babu Ukhoy Coomar Dutt, the able editor of that journal, Bengali literature is indebted for much of its purity and elegance.

But confident as were these deists, or theists, of the Samáj of the Divine inspiration of the Vedas, a change was about to come over the spirit of their dream. Their belief hitherto had been, that in reviving the authority of the Vedas they were simply contending for the original and true form of Hindu worship. They had said, "We consider the Vedas, and the Vedas alone, to be the authorized rule of Hindu theology. They are the sole foundation of all our belief. Our humble object is merely to revive and propagate an existing system of truths. Vedantism is our creed, and the Upanishads are our book of religion." But now a perfect revolution of opinion was imminent. The more the Vedas were studied, the more evident it became that the religion taught in them was far from being the monotheism of the Samáj—that, indeed, it was hopelessly pantheistic, and that it would thenceforward be impossible to link the Samáj to the teaching of the Vedas. These books therefore forfeited the authority they had commanded. And it was right that they should.

It has been urged against the members of the Samáj, that their surrender of the Vedas is but a proof of the fickleness of their beliefs: and they, treating the remark as a reflection on their sincerity, go to the trouble of showing, or rather of trying to show, that the Samáj has never altered its creed; that Rammohun Roy never claimed for the Vedas any higher inspiration than what he was willing to allow to the Christian Scriptures or to any other book containing an exposition of great truths; and that the only authority they have ever acknowledged is that of reason and intuition. They have somehow overlooked the fact that the withdrawal of their faith from the Vedas as teaching an inspired theology, is, when rightly regarded, a proof, not of their fickleness, but of their earnest mind. We think it speaks unmistakably for the sincerity of their religious convictions that they should have unhesitatingly abandoned the authority of writings, the real character of which was found to be utterly different from what they had supposed it to be. Their conduct was not only wise but honest; and we would assure them that the movement, instead of losing in the estimation of thoughtful men, gained credit when it became apparent that it was not indissolubly allied to Vedantic teaching, but based on an independent belief in one personal God. Perhaps Colebrooke's Essays on the Vedas had as much as anything to do with the weaving of the Samáj from Vedantic lore: certain it is that Vedantism died quietly out about the year 1850.

From this time the members of the Samáj, eschewing the epithet Vedantists, called themselves Brahmos or Brahmists.* This word, derived from the Hindu designation of the one Supreme Being, is equivalent to the term 'theist.' The Brahmists carefully avoid calling themselves deists, and so far they do wisely. This term, derived from the Latin *Deus*, has, it is true, precisely the same import as *theist*, which comes from the Greek *θεος*, but it has long been appropriated in our literature to those who have renounced the authority and teachings of the Christian Scriptures, and is associated with the idea of active antagonism to Christianity. Such is not the attitude of the Brahmists. The deists of England and the Continent profess to have weighed Christianity and to have rejected it after trial : the Brahmists, assuming to be only seekers after truth, have avoided an appellation, that would commit them to avowed hostility to any religious system excepting Pauranic idolatry. They stand committed therefore to no antagonisms, and can honestly claim to be only inquirers after the truth. Such, at all events, was, and is still the theory of their position : how far it has been modified by the presence of Christianity among them, is a question which will come to be considered in due course.

About the year 1843, and before the Samáj had emancipated itself from the bondage of the Vedas, its members adopted the following Brahmaic covenant, to which all who sought union with their Society were required to subscribe.

Om†

'To-day being the——day of the month—— in the year of Sakábda —— I herewith embrace the Brahmaic faith.

1st Vow.

'I will worship, through love of Him and the performance of the works He loveth, God the Creator, the Preserver, the Destroyer, the Giver of Salvation, the Omniscient, the Omnipresent, the Blissful, the Good, the Formless, the One only without a second.

2nd Vow.

'I will worship no created object as the Creator.

3rd Vow.

'Except the day of sickness or of tribulation, every day, the mind being undisturbed, I will engage it with love and veneration to God.

4th Vow.

'I will exert myself to perform righteous deeds.

5th Vow.

'I will be careful to abstain from vicious deeds,

* Or *Brahmoists*, as the word is more commonly perhaps, though not so correctly, spelt. The word is derived from *Brahm*, or *Brahma*, the Supreme Being ; not from *Brahmā*,

the first person in the Hindu triad.

† A sacred word used to signify the Sovereign, Creator, Preserver and Destroyer.

6th Vow.

'If, through the influence of passion, I commit any vice, then, wishing redemption from it, I will be cautious not to do it again.

7th Vow.

'Every year, and on the occasion of every happy domestic event, I will bestow gifts upon the *Brahma Samaj*. Grant me, O God, power to observe the duties of this great faith.'

A community, brought together by a common monotheism and accepting a common covenant, could not be long without attempting some expansion of their creed. The doctrinal development of the *Brahma Samaj* was probably accelerated by the number of Branch *Samajes* that began to spring up between the years 1847 and 1858, in the neighbourhood of the metropolis and in some of the larger towns of the presidency. These branches, receiving frequent accessions from the ranks of the educated young men of the colleges and zillah schools, naturally looked to the parent *Samaj* to fix and define their creed. Many lectures had been delivered and published, and the *Samaj* under its new régime had received much oral teaching of one kind or another; but the desire for a creed carefully determined and expressed, now began to assert itself, and it became necessary to put forth some authoritative declaration of religious belief. The following synopsis taken from *A Brief Survey of the Calcutta Brahma Samaj* published in 1868, will give a good idea of the doctrinal position of the Brahmins ten years ago:—

I. The book of Nature and Intuition form the basis of the Brahmic faith.

II. Although the Brahmas do not consider any book written by man the basis of their religion, yet they do accept with respect and pleasure any truth contained in any book.

III. The Brahmas believe that the religious condition of man is progressive, like the other parts of his condition in this world.

IV. They believe that the fundamental doctrines of their religion are at the basis of every religion followed by man.

V. They believe in the existence of one Supreme God—a God endowed with a distinct personality, moral attributes equal to his nature, and intelligence befitting the Governor of the Universe; and worship Him—Him alone. They do not believe in his incarnation.

VI. They believe in the immortality and progressive state of the soul, and declare that there is a state of conscious existence succeeding life in this world, and supplementary to it as respects the action of the universal moral government.

VII. They believe that atonement is the only way to salvation. They do not recognize any other mode of reconciliation to the offended but loving Father.

VIII. They pray for spiritual welfare, and believe in the efficacy of such prayers.

IX. They believe in the providential care of the Divine Father.

X. They avow that love towards him and performing the works He loveth, constituteth His worship.

XI. They recognize the necessity of public worship, but do not believe that they cannot hold communion with the Great Father without resorting to any fixed place at any fixed time. They maintain that we can adore Him at any time and at any place, provided that time and that place are calculated to compose and direct the mind towards Him.

XII. They do not believe in pilgrimages, but declare that holiness can only be attained by elevating and purifying the mind

XIII. They do not perform any rites and ceremonies, or believe in penances, as instrumental in obtaining, the grace of God. They declare that moral righteousness, the gaining of wisdom, Divine contemplation, charity, and the cultivation of devotional feelings, are their rites and ceremonies. They further say, Govern and regulate your feelings, discharge your duties to God and to man, and you will gain everlasting blessedness ; purify your heart, cultivate devotional feelings, and you will see Him who is Unseen.

XIV. Theoretically, there is no distinction of caste among the Brahmas. They declare that we are all the children of God, and, therefore, must consider ourselves as brothers and sisters.'

To believe in one personal God, and not only in the immortality of the soul but in its liability to moral discipline and its capacity for moral growth even after this life, and to seek to be brought into spiritual sympathy with the 'Divine Father,' represented an advance upon the surrounding polytheism which could only be accounted for in the supposition that the spirit of traditionalism had been rudely shaken by collision with some new and foreign force. It is one of the weaknesses of Brahmsm that it denies this. Professing to represent a single-minded and independent search after truth, it has been always unwilling to acknowledge its obligations to Christianity. The authority of the Vedas was clung to by the Brahmsists as long as possible, in order that it might appear to the world and to themselves that they derived their knowledge of the one personal God from their own sacred books, and not from Christian teaching. And when the Vedas were wrenched out of their hands, and they were forced by their own convictions to resign this support, they fell back on the book of nature as God's revelation of Himself. For our part, we persist in thinking that were it not for the new life which at this time flowed in with the tide of Western thought, and the study of a literature saturated at every pore with Christian sentiment and the high morality of the gospel ; were it not, also, for the strong and ceaseless opposition maintained by Christianity in the person of its missionaries and especially of Dr. Duff, against the atheism, which was the first, though a short-lived

result of the sudden intellectual quickening that the young men of Calcutta experienced when Western science was substituted for Oriental myths, neither would the study of the Vedas have been revived, nor would the great lessons of nature have appeared so intelligible as they then became. The Brahmists are guilty, in this matter, of a want of candour, which ill accords with the honest convictions which, to Christian minds, have lent such interest to this new religious movement.

But, be this as it may, it is interesting to observe the growth of spiritual thought, as illustrated in the history of Brahminism. Rammohun Roy, awakening to the conception of the One God, urged his convictions upon his countrymen at a time when few were prepared to abjure the national idolatry. He strove vigorously to propagate his views; but, beyond sowing the seeds of thought, he contributed nothing to the modern Brahma Samáj. The organization owes its vitality and expansion to Debendronath Tagore. Rammohun Roy's failure to keep alive and diffuse an active sympathy in his own monotheistic belief, and to nurse into strength and permanence the society he established, was owing, in the first place, to the very meagre and crude creed he had to offer, and in the second place, to the want of sufficient sympathy between himself and those whom he sought to influence. The mere belief in one God, in opposition to a prevailing polytheistic worship, is very apt to rest with the intellect, and to leave the affections untouched. It is, under such circumstances, a theory which places the individual who holds it, on a higher platform of reasoning than his ignorant brethren; it makes a comfortable esoteric doctrine for those who are tempted to assume superiority over their fellows; but it is not by itself a dogma on account of which men are disposed to brave persecution and social exile. It becomes a moral force only when the moral nature has been laid bare to the logical issues of the belief. Rammohun Roy failed to unfold and enforce the moral bearings of the new thought he sought to propagate. It was regarded by him from a purely objective point of view; exclusive stress was laid upon the being and attributes of the One Supreme Ruler of the Universe: no attempt was made to convert the monotheistic belief into a subjective power, by making it press on the individual conscience, or quicken the hearts of men. It was a creed outside men, not a living belief within them. And Rammohun Roy lacked the sympathy with his countrymen which was necessary to apply his creed so as to make it subservient to the higher end. Their ungrateful treatment disgusted him, and in quitting his native shores, he abandoned his own movement to whatever inherent vitality there might or might not be found in it.

Debendronath Tagore is a man of a very different stamp. Though he has nothing of the erudition of the Raja, he has larger sympathies. Where, therefore, the former only excited opposition, or at best awakened but a feeble response in the breasts of his countrymen, Debendronath Tagore has organized and strengthened the Samáj, both numerically and morally; and it is to him that Brahminism owes much of its present influence and respectability. For a quarter of a century he has laboured in this cause, at great sacrifice of time and money; and though he does not draw public attention to himself, and his very name is unknown to many who have heard of the Brahma Samáj, the obligations that the Samáj owes to him are gratefully acknowledged by all who are identified with the movement. If in the eyes of the European public he has not occupied the prominent position taken up by Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, it is not because his zeal as a *religious* reformer has been less, but because he has shrunk from the path of *social* reformation. For many years the Samáj having its attention absorbed in religious inquiries and in constructing a creed, had none to give to the grave social questions, which, in the complex state of Hindu society, must be grappled with, the moment there is the slightest deviation from old established religious usages, or the introduction into the religious beliefs of the people of the smallest foreign element. The interests of religion and society are so intertwined with one another that separation is impossible. To overthrow the religious beliefs of the people is to efface the landmarks of ages and revolutionize their entire social economy.

It was impossible to accept the Brahma creed, or indeed any creed other than that which had become an integral part of the social constitution, without the conviction that the foundations of society must more or less be affected by the change. It is the social difficulty rather than the religious, which has made the progress of Christianity so slow in India. It is a common complaint among missionaries, that though the people profess pleasure when the Gospel is preached to them, and not unfrequently admit that its doctrines recommend themselves to their highest reason and to their holiest sympathies, yet they cannot somehow be brought to see the necessity of casting off the bondage of their idolatries and of boldly accepting the yoke of Christ. The fact is, that the chains which bind the Hindu to his idolatrous traditions, are not of a religious but of a social kind. The missionary marvels that he can confess that his gods are nothing and yet continue to worship them; and the conclusion too often comes to him, that he has no conscience and is incapable of a spiritual thought. This is neither philosophical nor just. The Hindu may feel the force of Christian teaching, and yet be so fettered by the social system

in which he and his forefathers have had their being, as to find it impossible to face the sacrifice involved in disengaging himself from it. It is to be regretted, no doubt, that he lacks the moral courage necessary to obey his convictions, and no reasoning in the world will justify a compromise with one's conscience. But what we deprecate, is the unmeasured condemnation of the Hindu character too often to be met with in missionary literature, the failure to appreciate the real difficulties that perplex the path of even earnest men, and the shortsighted impatience with which results are expected which are of rare occurrence even among those who are free from the social restraints so exceptionally severe in this country. How seldom, in English or other Christian society, do we find men willing to follow out religious convictions and transfer their allegiance from one Church or sect to another, when such action threatens the disruption of old social ties or injury to business? And why should we apply the moral measure more rigorously to the Hindu, whose spiritual vision has been dimmed by the superstitions of ages and whose newly quickened conscience must necessarily be feeble in its first pulsations, than to men belonging to a condition of society in which the sovereignty of Christian principle is so loudly vaunted?

But we must not digress. We have said that the acceptance of the theistic creed must have brought the Brahmists face to face with grave social questions. They were in existence as a Samáj for ten years and more, before these questions began to be touched. For not having grappled with them at the very outset, they have been charged with insincerity and a conservatism which was both cowardly and criminal. We are not seeking to vindicate the Samáj: our only desire is to read their conduct from their own standing-ground. We think it may be safely asserted that social reforms did not enter into the original scheme of the Samáj. It was a religious movement pure and simple, caused by the re-quickening of a religious idea; and the first members probably believed that they could keep it within its original bounds. Why not? Hinduism abounds with religious sects, and yet the general fabric remains unaffected. Why should not Brahminism be propagated, and thrive unmolested and unmolested in the bosom of Hindu society? It would probably for many years remain but esoteric doctrine, and might be held simultaneously with the outward observance of Pauranic rites. Thus, we dare say, argued many who joined the Samáj; and thus far Brahminism, or, as it was then called, Vedantism, was a mere religious opinion. But, when Debendronath Tagore threw his earnest soul into the movement, he helped to make it more than an opinion; it became thenceforward a creed. The conception of one God, not in the pantheistic sense, but as having a distinct personality, awakened the

long slumbering consciousness of individual relations. The Samáj would have died if the god of the Vedas had been retained ; it received new life with the recognition of a personal God. The creed grew into a conviction, and with the conviction came a stirring up of the religious nature. The spiritual in man began to be cultivated with a view to communion with the Divine Being ; new wants began to disclose themselves ; and in proportion as honest conviction deepened, the feeling that Brahmissm and Pauranic orthodoxy could not be held together, began to assert itself. The One God had made all nations of one blood, and this doctrine struck at the very root of Hindu society. This was the point at which the religious belief of the Brahmissists came into contact with the social economy in which they had been reared. This was the moment when as honest men they must commit themselves to the task of social reform. Now must come the trial of principle, the action without which our creeds are only sounding brass.

Whether the Brahmissists consciously realized the crisis or not, we cannot tell ; certainly they did feel that the time had come when their creed, to live, must be something more than intellectual speculation.

Up to this point Babu Debendronath Tagore had been the leader of Brahmissism ; but here he unhappily halted. One or two cautious steps in advance he did take ; but when he found that the ground he had reached was a battle-field and not a resting-place, his prudence overcame his better judgment and he declined the conflict. From this time the real leadership devolved on Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, a young man of good education, of an enthusiastic spirit, and of a strong religious nature. He counted it time that talk should lead to action ; and as the first challenge to orthodox Hinduism, he persuaded Debendronath Tagore, on the marriage of his daughter, to celebrate the nuptial rites without the usual idolatrous ceremony. Having succeeded in this, he undertook, so far as all Brahmissists were concerned, to purge the rites observed at births and deaths, and on other special domestic occasions, of the idolatrous element. Thus far Debendronath accepted the co-operation of his youthful colleague ; but when an attempt was made on the part of the more advanced section of the Samáj, to eliminate from these rites not only what was purely idolatrous, but also everything that was offensive to enlightened feeling and a purer taste, the opposition of the conservative party became demonstrative, and a schism was the result. Debendronath and his party shrank from the contest with the mighty influences of caste, and left the field to be occupied by Keshub and the men who sympathized in his views of progress. The Brahma Samáj

of which the former still holds the leadership, has been steadily drifting out of sight : it is necessarily and deservedly being forgotten. Its desire to avoid doing violence to the prejudices of the multitude, resulted in the sacrifice of principle to expediency. In the hour of trial it became unfaithful to its mission, and since then it has been losing influence, and will probably before long die out altogether.

The time had arrived when Brahminism, if it was a power and not mere talk, must do battle with the system of caste distinctions. The first step in this direction taken by Keshub Chunder Sen, was the celebration of a marriage between persons belonging to different castes. Here was an innovation such as might well startle the venerable pundits of Nuddea and Benares. There could henceforward be no doubt as to the more than heretical tendency of the theistic doctrine. An electric shock ran through society : all Hindudom was roused from its slumber, and began suspiciously to ponder what Brahminism meant by such daring. But the real test of principle was yet to come. It was comparatively safe to make a few modifications in domestic religious rites : the marriage of people of different castes compromised the principals chiefly : it was necessary that the entire Brahma community should by some act be irrevocably committed to war against the evils and iniquities of caste. Keshub and his party accepted this necessity, threw off the sacred thread that distinguished them as Brahmans, and insisted that all who desired membership with their Samáj should consent to renounce caste. There could be no greater triumph than this, of principle over traditionalism : it stamped Brahminism as a power in the land, and not an idle theological speculation.

But, decided as was the step now taken, it did not cause as wide a breach between the advanced Brahma party and orthodox Hindudom, as might have been expected. These men, though they openly ignore the distinctions of caste are not exiled from home. They live among their relatives, and their refusal to connect themselves with any idolatries, either household or public, though accepted with a bad grace and a feeling of regret for the degeneracy of the times, is not visited with the ostracism that follows the embracing of the Christian faith. Why should this be ? The Brahma renounces caste as truly and as practically as the Christian convert ; but the latter has to sacrifice home and friends, whilst the former retains both. The reason for this difference strikes us as three-fold. In the first place, Christian missionaries seem to us to have all along, though perhaps not so much now as in former times, encouraged their converts to forsake home and kindred, and form isolated communities among themselves, rather than dissuaded them from doing so. Certainly it is not altogether their fault that they have done so. A course which was forced upon the earliest

converts by a necessity against which they were powerless to contend, became the common practice, and was apt to be looked upon as a test of sincerity rather than as an undesirable necessity. In the second place, Hindu society has always been influenced by a prejudice against the encroachments of Christianity, which somehow does not exist as respects Brahminism. Why the prejudice in the one case should not be equally strong in the other, is an inquiry of some interest, but one on which we cannot here enter. Suffice it to say that the initiatory rite of baptism is looked upon by the Hindus as fixing an impassable gulf between themselves and those who have embraced Christianity. This gulf does not exist in the case of Brahminist. Beyond the renunciation of idolatrous superstitions and the arbitrary restraints of caste, there is nothing to sever their interests from those of their relatives and friends. They have not cut themselves off from the sympathy of their own by any act which identifies them with a foreign race and a foreign creed ; and as any severe measure, such as that of social ostracism, might but drive them further away, it is deemed politic to wink at their heresy, and accept such a compromise as the circumstances will allow. And in the third place, the ranks of Brahminism are so numerous, and are recruited from so many families of high birth, of respectability and influence and wealth, that to declare open war against it at a time when Hinduism is becoming sensibly weaker every day, and has no power to beat back the tide of influences setting in upon it and threatening its destruction, would be to invite the fate which, it is hoped, may yet be warded off for some time to come.

The decided step taken in the matter of caste, proving as it did that Brahminism possessed vitality, at once placed Keshub Chunder Sen in the front of the battle. His party, known henceforward as 'the Brahma Samáj of India,' have striven to propagate their views by encouraging the formation of Samájes all over the country, and by sending forth missionaries as far as Madras and Bombay and the Punjab. Besides the publication of tracts and lectures, they have built a church, to use their own designation of the edifice, which is crowded to suffocation every Sunday evening, and is attended by not only men, but women who are Brahmins, and for whom special accommodation is provided. The services are conducted in the vernacular, so as to be intelligible to all worshippers. Brahminist hymns are tastefully sung to the accompaniment of the harmonium and the solemn *mridong* (a kind of drum) ; passages are read from a book of selections of which the extracts from the Bible are most numerous, extemporaneous prayers are offered with a reverence and depth of spiritual feeling that would do credit to a Christian congregation ; and discourses are delivered which must have the effect of elevating and purifying the soul, for they are full

of the noblest aspirations and often of the most pathetic yearnings after the All-Father. Connected with the Samāj and indeed its organs more or less, are two weekly periodicals, one Bengali and the other English, the *Dharma Tattwa*, and the *Indian Mirror*. Both are conducted with great ability, and are devoted not only to the chronicling of all events of interest to Brahminism, but to the exposition of Brahma views and the advocacy of all measures calculated to promote the enlightenment and spiritual emancipation of the people.

The literature of Brahminism, though not voluminous, is considerable. Besides the *Brahma Dharma*, or exposition of Brahminism, the Brahma hymn-book and other devotional books, we have Keshub Chunder Sen's occasional lectures in English, controversial tracts, and small treatises on what may be termed practical religion. The object of the controversial tracts is not to controvert Pauranic idolatry or to justify Brahminism with respect to it, but for the most part to defend the theistic creed against the weapons of Christianity. When Vedantism became obsolete, and Brahminism was thrown back on the religion of external nature and reason and the intuitions of the mind, its reply to Christianity was that no book revelation of the Divine will could be of universal applicability; that God's revelations of Himself are made to the individual heart for the individual benefit alone; and that no revelation made to one man can be of authority to any other. God makes Himself known to each man personally by instructing his reason and quickening his intuitional nature; all divine revelation therefore, is internal, not external; and in so far as Christianity has a historical and dogmatic basis, it is untrustworthy and vain.

The Brahmists betray a disposition to resent the statement that the intuitional doctrine on which they now build so confidently, is a recent discovery, and has only succeeded Vedantism and nature-religion. The methods by which they seek to refute the charge are sometimes ingenious. We have lying before us "*A defence of Brahminism, and the Brahma Samāj*," in which the following passage occurs:—

"The Reverend Mr. Mullens, in his essay on Vedantism, Brahminism and Christianity, says:—"Though the Brahmas claim the Vedas as a revelation of divine truth, they look primarily upon the works of nature as their religious teacher. From nature they learned first; and because the Vedas (as they assert) agree with nature, therefore they regard them as inspired." He quotes in support of the above assertion the following passage from the *Vedantic doctrines Vindicated*:—"The knowledge derived from the sources of inspiration deals with eternal truths, which require no other proof than what the whole creation and the mind of man unperturbed by fallacious reasonings afford in abundance." It is therefore evident that the leaders of the Samāj at this

time considered the Vedas to be revealed solely on account of the reasonableness and cogency of their doctrines. Their error lay in believing that whatever they contained, was reasonable and cogent. As soon as they perceived their mistake after a wider study of the Vedas, they shook it off at once. Now why did they do so, so easily? The reason is that a higher standard of belief had always predominated in their minds over that of written revelation, that is, the standard of reason; and as conscientious men, they could not continue professing that to be a revelation which was found to contain errors. The Samaj still holds that only those doctrines and precepts of a religious book that are reasonable and true, are worthy of its belief as revealed by God who is the fountain of all truths. The present members of the Samaj maintain that the conformity of a doctrine to the dictates of reason in its intuitive and discursive forms, constitutes its sole claim to our belief; that intuition lays the ground-work, and reasoning raises the superstructure of religion. As all reasoning is based on intuitive belief, and as the Samaj has never denied the importance of reasoning in the determination of religious truth, its recognition of intuition cannot be reckoned as an organic change of principle but as rather a development of one previously entertained.'

There is a curious confounding here of reasoning with intuition. Reason, as a revelation, is, no doubt, prior to any book that may claim divine authority, because the reasoning faculty must to some extent be developed to qualify us to entertain the thoughts of another; but reasoning can only proceed on data, and where these are insufficient or false, the conclusions we arrive at become untrustworthy. If the authority of the Vedas was accepted by the early Brahmas on sufficient data, then the modern Brahmas are wrong in rejecting it. If the data were unreliable, and if the intuitions of the early Brahmas nevertheless led them to receive the Vedas as an inspired revelation, then their intuitions were at fault. At any rate they must be regarded as furnishing a curious instance of how men's reason and intuitions may be at variance with one another. And if the modern Brahmists maintain that they have not shifted their ground, then it follows that they too, like their earlier brethren, may accept intuitively what is neither "reasonable nor cogent." If the earlier Brahmas "perceived their mistake after a wider study of the Vedas," it must be that their intuitions led them into a mistake which their reason afterwards corrected. But if one's intuitions can lead one into any such mistake, then it surely is hazardous to regard them as the ground-work of religion.

Let us not be misunderstood. We are not attempting to underestimate, much less to deny, the importance of the relation in which our intuitions stand to the religious principle within us. We only want to show that the Brahmists really have changed their ground. The early Brahmists dreamed nothing of intuitions: with them the Vedas were an inspired authority. The teachings of these sacred

books were received as true, so long as they were believed to teach that there was a one personal God,—a doctrine that commended itself to reason ; but when their Pantheism stood revealed, they were set aside. The book of nature henceforward became the only revelation of God ; and it was not till nature was found to give but an uncertain answer to questions of the deepest import that the men whose spiritual cravings were becoming better defined and intenser day by day, sought the refuge of intuitionism. The heart of God must be interpreted by our own highest and holiest sympathies : this is the key-note of "Brahma intuitionism, and herein we are at one with them. We only differ from them in maintaining that the key which unlocks the mystery of the divine character, was put into our hands by Jesus Christ. Let our hearts in their holiest and truest affections be the interpreters of God to us ; but we did not know that they ought to be so regarded, till Jesus Christ came and told us so. The doctrine of the divine Fatherhood was enunciated by *His* lips ; the brotherhood of the race is *His* grand thought.

But although we cannot accept the averment that Brahminism has altered none of its features, we have no fellow-feeling with those who quote these changes as an argument against it. To us they are an evidence of honesty of conviction,—a recommendation rather than a stain. All sensible Brahmas maintain that they are still only seekers after the truth. Now to seek after truth and to find it in the successive steps of its manifestation, means progress. And what is progress ? Is it not essentially a leaving of things which are behind, and a pressing towards the things which are before ? We grant there may be change without progress ; but this is not the case with Brahminism. Each change here has been a step in advance. Vedantism, notwithstanding its immeasurable superiority to the polytheism from which it disengaged itself, spoke only of a God at an infinite distance from man ; nature-religion brought Him nearer, in the world of beauty and wisdom and loving-kindness everywhere around us. Intuitionism, as it is called by the Brahmas, but in reality Christianity, has given them a Father in Heaven with all the fulness of love implied in the relation. These changes show that a progress of development is going on ; that thought and the spiritual nature are expanding together, and that so far from accounting such changes a discredit to the Brahma movement, the members of the Samaj should glory in them. To deny that they have taken place, is to be ashamed of progress, and to regard honesty of conviction as a weakness to be concealed.

But the most important inquiry still remains—the attitude of Brahminism with respect to Christianity. What its relation is in its present intuitional stage, we have already hinted at ; its

attitude is a question of more than ordinary interest. No one can read the cold intellectual 'vindications' so called of Ram-mohun Roy, and compare them with the fervid heart-tones of Keshub's teaching, without being struck with the progress that Brahmissm has made in the interval. During the first years of its existence it was little better than a cold speculation which might be of interest to men, but which it was not expedient to push to any practical extreme, on account of the hostility it would be sure to awaken. It was an esoteric philosophy which needed not to be obtruded upon the vulgar or flaunted before their eyes, but might be held consistently with the observance of all the superstitious and idolatrous rites of the old system. The Brahmissm of the present day, if it seeks to be anything, seeks to become a spiritual power, and not only to reign in the intellect but to regulate the heart and give shape and purpose to the whole life. If its attitude towards Christianity is to be determined by the share that Christ's life and words have had in the formation of the religious character of its leader, there can be little doubt that it derives its unction, its spirituality, and its aspirations from Christianity, although it refuses to be identified with it. In a lecture delivered in London on Christianity, Keshub is reported to have made the following statement :—

'It has always struck me that there must be something inexplicably interesting in the fact that I have continued steadfast in my attachment to Christ, in spite of my standing aloof from many of the dogmas inculcated and taught by Christian missionaries in India. Why have I cherished respect and reverence for Christ? Why have I every now and then felt exceedingly willing to read the Bible, although I stand outside the pale of Christian orthodoxy? Why is it that though I do not take the name of 'Christian,' I still persevere in offering my hearty thanksgivings to Jesus Christ? There must be something in the life and death of Christ, there must be something in His great Gospel which tends to bring comfort and light and strength to a heart heavy-laden with iniquity and wickedness. I must say that I never studied Christianity by having recourse to controversial writings; I very seldom took delight in anti-christian works; nor did I ever try to betake myself to all those voluminous books which treat of the evidences of Christianity. I studied Christ ethically, nay spiritually, and I studied the Bible also in that same spirit; and I must to-night acknowledge most candidly and sincerely that I owe a great deal to Christ and to the Gospel of Christ.' *

* This confession may be "most candid and sincere," but we cannot refrain from pointing out that it reveals too obvious a fact to be necessary. It is as though a native of

India should candidly and sincerely confess that he derives a great deal of heat from the warmth of the sun. Keshub Chunder Sen not only owes a great deal, but everything to

His estimate of Christ is given a little further on.

'There is something in the Bible which has staggered many who stand outside the pale of orthodox Christianity, and that is the egotism of Christ. I always look upon that as a sublime egotism and self-assertion. Christ says truly, "Love God, love man, and ye shall inherit everlasting life;" but still does he not say "I am the way; I am the light of the world?" Does he not say, "Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy-laden and I will give you rest?" Not in one or two exceptional passages, but in many passages does he lay considerable stress upon this 'I.' There is constant allusion to Himself as the way to eternal life. He who said, The only way to eternal life is the love of God and the love of man also says, "I am the way." Jesus Christ, then, truly analysed, means love of God and love of man. In Him we see a heavenly embodiment of this love of God as the Father, and the love of man as the brother; and instead of there being a contradiction, we find that there is an absolute and most charming harmony between these two precepts. If we love God and love man we become Christ-like, and so attain everlasting life. Christ never demanded from me worship or adoration that is due to God the Creator of the Universe. He appears to me to put Himself forward in the gospel as the way, not the goal; as my guide, not the destination at which I have ultimately to arrive. He places Himself before me as the spirit which I must imbibe in order to approach the Divine Father, as the great teacher and guide who will lead me to God. "I am the way," he said; and if we avail ourselves of that way we shall reach our destination, which is not Christ, but God the Father. If he does not demand from me worship, what is it then that he does demand from me? Obedience.'

The above extracts give a very fair notion of Keshub's gospel. His spiritual sympathies are truer than his logic. He believes in the human Christ, but not in the divine Christ; and yet his own words show that in accepting the human, he is forced unconsciously to admit the Divine. The admission he makes is significant. "In Him we see a heavenly embodiment of the love of God as the Father and the love of man as the brother." If Christ is an 'embodiment' of the love of God, and if, as Keshub elsewhere teaches, love is the essence of the Divine Being, then it follows that Christ is an incarnation of the Divine love. No one can undertake to embody the Divine love, that has not a soul capacious enough to take in that love in its infinite measurements. To have such a soul is to be Divine; and the logical conclusion is that Christ is what Christianity asserts Him to be—'God manifest in the flesh.' Besides, it does not do for Keshub to accept some of Christ's statements, and not others. He who spoke of Himself

Christianity. There is not a trace of oriental-ism in his entire system,—his appreciation even of Eastern mys-

ticism he has learned from Western thinkers.—*Ed., Calcutta Review.*

as 'the way,' also said, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," and claimed it as His right that "all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father." Either this bold piece of 'egotism' announced a truth however startling, or it was blasphemy. If it was blasphemy, then Christ is not a guide in whom man can trust; if it is a truth He uttered, then Keshub owes Him not only obedience but worship. Furthermore, Keshub is evidently not aware of all that his own words imply. What does he mean by the 'egotism and self-assertion' of Christ? He means, we suppose, that there is a personality about Him of the most definite character—a personality above that of common men. How can he, then, impressed with this fact, turn Christ into a mere abstraction by saying that, 'when analysed,' He 'means, love of God and love of man'? No abstraction has ever swayed the world. The secret of Christ's strong personality lies in the fact that He is the 'embodiment' of the Divine love. There is no egotism in an abstraction. It is therefore only as a Divine Person, the Divine Revealer of the Father, that He displays the 'egotism and self-assertion' that have called forth Keshub's admiration. But it is not our wish to enter the domain of theological controversy. We have only said what we thought was necessary to show the precise relation in which Keshub Chunder Sen, as the representative of the *Brahma Samâj*, stands to Christianity.

The danger to which Brahism is exposed is dogmatism. Brahmas may be amused to hear this. They may fancy that if any religionists are free from this vice, and are likely to remain free, they are the men. We may be asked how we have read Keshub's reiterated denunciations of dogma and the spirit of dogmatism. In sooth, there is no subject on which the *Brahma* leader waxes more eloquent than when he condemns a dogmatic theology. Religion with him, as we are frequently reminded, is a thing of the emotions and the spiritual nature, and is all the better for being entirely dissociated from doctrinal formulas. We sympathise in much that is said from time to time on this subject. It is not to be denied that a religion beaten out and mathematically divided and subdivided under abstract headings, or formulated beliefs, is very apt to lose life and beauty in proportion as it is cut and squared into logical precision. But on the other hand, the men who denounce dogma most liberally are most apt to become dogmatic. This is one of Keshub's dangers: indeed, as we have already said, it is a danger to which Brahism as such is more liable than its disciples may be willing to allow. Brahism professes to represent the progressive religious thought of young India. It is its boast that it is seeking truth in whatever quarter it may be found. Its proper attitude, therefore, is that of inquiry. Inquiry however implies uncertainty: it is a state of mind confined, by its

very nature, to the thoughtful few. On the other hand, what the great mass of men are influenced by, is not philosophic inquiry, but dogmatic certainty. They want a religion which gives them a fixed, well-defined something which they can believe and rest in: a creed in a transitional state finds but small favour with them. Now Brahminism, to judge by the tone beginning to be assumed by its exponents, is becoming dogmatical. The people want dogma, and the temptation is strong to satisfy them. Why do Brahma lecturers assume an antagonistic attitude toward Christianity? Why, if they represent only the inquiring spirit of the age, do they strive to warn their hearers against the doctrines of the Gospel? Why are they constantly seeking to undermine its influence by making it out to be an effete superstition? They do this at the same time that they are constrained to acknowledge the obligations they owe to its founder. Their endeavours to prevent its progress at the same time that there is so much in it that they confessedly admire and reverently believe, can only be accounted for by their desire to exalt Brahminism, and establish it as the only truth. This is essentially the spirit of dogmatism. Whilst they profess to be only seekers after the truth, they, unconsciously perhaps, are betrayed into the construction of a dogmatic creed, which may make and keep disciples, but is fatal to the spirit of inquiry.

But though we have lying before us sundry Brahma treatises betraying a manifestly unfriendly spirit towards the very Christianity to which the system owes so much, it is but right that we should exonerate Keshub Chunder Sen from this charge. He has apprehended Jesus Christ more truly than any of his fellow Brahmas, and, in some respects, more fully than many Christians. His celebrated lecture, 'Jesus Christ—Europe and Asia,' shows that although he does not believe in a 'God manifest in the flesh,' he has understood many of the grand lessons of that Divine life on earth. Take for example such a passage as the following:—

'The two fundamental doctrines of Gospel ethics, which stand out prominently above all others, and give it its peculiar grandeur and its pre-eminent excellence, are, in my opinion, the doctrines of forgiveness and self-sacrifice: and it is in these that we perceive the moral greatness of Christ. These golden maxims, how beautifully he preached, how nobly he lived! What moral serenity and sweetness pervade his life! What extraordinary tenderness and humility, what lamb-like meekness and simplicity! His heart was full of mercy and forgiving kindness: friends and foes shared his charity and love. And yet, on the other hand, how resolute, firm and unyielding in his adherence to truth! He feared no mortal man, and braved even death itself for the sake of truth and God. Verily, when we read His life, his meekness, like the soft moon, ravishes the heart and bathes it in a flood of serene light; but when we come to the grand consummation of

His career, His death on the cross, behold, He shines as the powerful sun, in its meridian splendour ! It is these two cardinal principles of Christian ethics, so utterly opposed to the wisdom of the world, and so far exalted above its highest conceptions of rectitude, which require to be fully impressed upon the European and native races ; as upon the proper appreciation of these, I believe, depends the reformation of their character.'

A reverent appreciation such as this of Christ's character, can only have come of earnest study and honest belief. The theism Keshub professes, may not differ, essentially, from the Unitarian creed, or the rationalism of England and the Continent ; and yet there is this important difference between them, that their relation to Christianity is not the same. Brahminism is the purer faith that asserts itself in opposition to a Pauranic idolatry, and owes whatever vitality it has to contact with the spirit of Jesus Christ. The rationalism of Europe is a reaction from the theology of the churches. Both may be equally distant from the Christianity of Christ, but the one is feeling its way towards it, and the other is seemingly retiring from it. The one is seeking the truth ; the other declares that it has found it. Let Brahminism beware lest, in mere imitation of the rationalism of Europe, it should forfeit its character for earnest and unprejudiced inquiry.

The conclusions to which Brahminism has as yet arrived (for even an intuitionist religion must have its doctrinal beliefs), may be summed up as follows : There is one personal God, the Father of all men, whose nature is love, and who, speaking in the heart of every man, seeks to bring him into communion with himself. There is and can be no written revelation of the Divine will, for the very notion of " a book-revelation is self-contradicting and suicidal. " Revelation is a state of the mind, a process of intelligence, a truth, " an actual fact of consciousness. Hence a book-revelation, inasmuch " as it is a book, an external object, cannot be scientifically called " a revelation. Revelation is subjective, not objective." It follows that all our ideas of God are intuitive and not derived. God forgives, but every man must be purified by a moral discipline which may be extended into the life to come. This is the only atonement, for " atonement, scientifically considered, is nothing more " than a return to God. The word *atone* simply means to be *at* " *one* with God—to be reconciled to Him. By the commission " of sin we turn astray from Him : we cease to enjoy His company. " By an atonement we renounce our sin, again draw near to Him, " and enjoy the blessing of His company. Hence the turning back " to God is the whole philosophy of atonement. Hence our belief " that repentance is atonement." The future life is identified with the perfection of the spiritual nature, and fullness of communion with God. The whole race of men constitutes one vast brother-

hood, and caste is only an audacious and sacrilegious violation of God's law of human brotherhood.

Such are the leading ideas on which Brahminism is based. Its intuitions so called, are derived from Christianity; its spirit, so far as it is true and noble, comes from the life of Jesus Christ; but it ignores its origin, and in so far as it does this, it is weak, and is distrusted by many who otherwise feel sympathy with struggling light and freedom. There are men in this metropolis, and their number is daily increasing, who have shaken off the trammels of caste, but who will not join the ranks of Brahminism, because they feel that in ignoring Christianity, Brahminism has been untrue to itself. What deters them from assuming the Christian name, is the injury to social standing that such a step is likely to entail. They have a position among their kindred and friends, and in society generally, which, they fear, will be forfeited the moment they consent to be called Christians. As, however, the Government begins to recognize the existence of native Christians as an element in the body politic, and the age begins to find that members of a family, though Christian, need not be banished from their Hindu homes, Brahminism, unless it retracts its boast and acknowledges its indebtedness to Christianity, will find its Samājes deserted and its influence fast decaying. Men will prefer Christianity with its historical basis and its living spirit to a doubtful intuitionism, a parasite which vaunts an independent existence at the very time that it is feeding on the life of another. That which keeps many Brahmins in Brahminism and prevents them from avowing a Christian faith, is not the ability of intuitionism to satisfy the religious nature, but the social disabilities which the profession of Christianity is believed to entail. Brahminism is not the goal, and they feel it.

We have thus endeavoured to give a sketch of the religious movement inaugurated by Rammohun Roy. Whatever may be its defects, it is immeasurably superior to the Hinduism of the Puranas. It has raised the tone of morality, and awakened spiritual yearning among a people hitherto in bondage to gross and demoralizing superstitions. It has its mission, and it is fulfilling it: but to live on and endure, it must become more than what it is. It has yet to accept the Christianity of Christ. We do not wish to force upon it the theology of our Christian sects; we would much rather that it developed itself in harmony with the genius of the people. By all means let it be national: but it must be Christian.

ART. VI.—BENGAL IN 1870.

IF a stranger arriving in Calcutta some eight or ten years ago had made enquiry regarding the political parties into which the country was divided, he would have found that there were only two. On the one hand, was the interlopers' or non-official party, which consisted almost exclusively of English planters and merchants, with an occasional High Court Judge whose combative instincts were stronger than his sense of official decorum. On the other side, were the officials—the representatives of what in the favourite jargon of their adversaries was termed 'obstructive civilianism' who chiefly regarded native interests and were believed to be secretly influenced by the most malignant if not positively murderous feelings towards every white man who had not signed a certain mystic document in Leadenhall Street.

All this is changed now. The country is still divided into two political parties, but the line of distinction between them has altered. The one consists of the central government and some of its immediate employes; and the other includes, as far as we have been able to learn, nearly every other inhabitant of Bengal, European or native, who has political opinions of any kind. Of course an enormous majority of the population never troubles its head about Government and its proceedings at all, beyond making an occasional complaint that the bunniahs are not ordered to sell grain cheap, or that the police have been troubling the village more than ever of late; but, wherever one goes throughout the Lower Provinces, all the most influential part of the community appears to regard our rulers with uniform feelings of hostility and distrust. Some give one reason, some give another; but, whatever the cause may be, we believe the fact will not be controverted that the general feeling of the country is such as we have indicated. Even the officials are not now different in this respect from the rest of the world. Far be it from us to say that they do not loyally endeavour each at his particular post to do the work entrusted to them, and so to support the administration under which they serve; but after office hours as they sit round some imperfectly polished mofussil substitute for mahogany when a bottle of Chateau Margaux has unloosed their tongues—at such times as these, we say, even officials often express in the strongest terms their dislike and contempt for the political system of which they form a part. Each man's own department or at all event so much of it as he himself controls, is beyond the reach of cavil, but everything else is rapidly going to the bad. Nor is even this the worst. In India every man's most private thoughts

are known to all his neighbours almost before they have taken any definite shape in his own mind, and it is whispered here and there by those who make it their business to collect and retail scandalous stories, that even among the high civil dignitaries for whom we specially pray in Church, if not in the Supreme Council itself, there are men who would astonish us by their revolutionary sentiments if they could only throw aside the robes of office and openly say what they think.

Now it seems to us very necessary that the cause of all this should be discovered. No country can be in a satisfactory condition when the sentiments of its whole population are united in opposition to its rulers, when the most truly representative critics of Government are those who can express the most unpleasant half-truths regarding it in the strongest and most contemptuous language. The blame may lie entirely with Government, or entirely with its opponents, or it may be equally divided between them, but, whatever the cause may be, no body politic can be in a healthy condition when the state of public feeling is such as we have described.

• The old hostility between officials and independent Europeans has evidently died out because the causes which occasioned it have ceased to exist. The days when the Company was a corporation of traders who necessarily regarded every interloper as a rival whom self-interest compelled them to harass and restrain, have receded into the dim past. There is little to recall their memory, and the passions and prejudices which the old state of circumstances naturally led to, have gradually become weaker and weaker. The indigo disputes in Bengal served for a time to revive the old feeling of antagonism, but they also are now nearly forgotten; and there is hardly any important public question with regard to which the interests of European settlers exceptionally clash with those of the native community, or with the official view of public policy. All this however only goes to show how the old parties have died out, and does nothing towards explaining the present state of political feeling. To discover this, we must go further into detail.

The most obvious and not the least powerful cause of irritation is undoubtedly the simple necessary pressure of a heavy income-tax. It falls with exceptional weight on the commercial community, who loudly express their complaints in the English newspapers; while the native press throughout the country re-echoes their words in fifty different keys. But this is very far from being the whole truth even with regard to this particular tax. In the autumn of last year when the rate was raised from 1 to 2 per cent, the public acquiesced in, if it did not approve of, the measure; and something more than the mere addition of Re. 1½ per cent is

required to account for the subsequent total change of feeling. There must have been something in the manner and circumstances of the increase to aggravate its necessary unpleasantness.

And it is not very difficult to see what that something was. Men acquiesced in the burdens laid upon them last year, because reasons were given to prove their necessity; they indignantly protest at present, because they, rightly or wrongly, believe that no such necessity exists. Even at the time when Sir Richard Temple made his budget statement for the present year, it seems to have been very generally doubted whether his estimates were trustworthy, and since that time it has been officially announced that the regular estimates, founded on the actual accounts in some departments of eleven and in most of ten months, were so very far from correct that the year in fact ended with a trifling surplus, instead of a deficit amounting to two-thirds of a million. Even this is not all. The accounts with which the financial department has to deal, are so vast and complicated, and it is so impossible for any minister to foresee the precise extent of the charges incurred on account of home expenditure, that errors may be unavoidable even at the close of a year, and we feel certain that the mere occurrence of such mistakes would have done little towards exciting the bitter feeling of opposition with which Government is at present regarded, if it had not at the same time been evident that no serious effort was made to put our finances on a sounder basis. The Duke of Argyll and his Council are no doubt responsible for the continuance of unnecessary separate military establishments in this country, as well as for the reckless extravagance which seems to characterize all our home expenditure, but there is no evidence of a serious attempt at economy in any direction. Large savings have no doubt been effected under the heading of ordinary public works, but this result has to a great extent been attained by stopping practical work which will have to be done sooner or later, while keeping up establishments on the same scale as before,—a process which any private firm of contractors would probably characterise as ruinous extravagance rather than judicious economy. Not without reason then has our recent financial administration been charged with an equal deficiency in earnest purpose and technical skill, and the irritation which under such circumstances could hardly be avoided has been greatly aggravated by the attitude of studied contempt with which all external criticism and every demand for information on the part of the public has been systematically treated. "*Populus me sibilat,*" the Financial Department seems to say, "*at mihi plaudo ipse domi.*" It is not our object needlessly to revive unpleasant recollections, and we therefore refrain from reproducing the curious correspondence in which our financiers, after they had been good enough to give the Chamber of Commerce a few lessons in book-

keeping, fell such helpless victims to the superior logical skill of Mr. Wood; but we are compelled to refer to the case as the best illustration which can be found of what we mean by saying that Government contemptuously refuses to furnish the information which is required for the guidance of public opinion. The Financial Department may be perfectly right in their opinion that the favourable financial results of last year cannot be expected to recur; but if so, it was evidently both their best policy and their plain duty to set forth the grounds of their conclusion on the occasion to which we refer. If any of the various departments of Government is likely to be this year more costly or less productive than formerly, the reasons should have been stated in detail. Mere general assertions command no credit, when they come from the mouths of men whose prophecies have hitherto shown but little correspondence with subsequent facts. On the contrary, they lead of necessity to a strong suspicion that nothing definite is stated because nothing definite is known, that our Chancellor of the Exchequer does not name the department in which a deficit is likely to occur, because he has only the vaguest possible notions on the subject himself. The tone, too, in which the remonstrances of the commercial community were met would have been unnecessarily reserved in the mouth of a Gladstone addressing an ordinary deputation of vestrymen. It was therefore something more than unnecessarily reserved when it was Sir Richard Temple who had to address the leading mercantile men of India.

These are, we believe, the causes which have chiefly served to excite the opposition of the European part of the community, but with regard to the native population Government has a very much worse case. Theoretically an income-tax may be as well suited to the economic condition of India as to that of most other countries, and if it were allowable to close our eyes to the hard facts which surround us, a great deal of weight might be attached to the arguments of those who say that Bengal with its permanently settled land-revenue and wealthy middle class has less reason than any other part of India to grumble at direct taxation of this sort. In fact, if it were possible to make a just and proper assessment, all that they say would be true, but unfortunately while in other provinces of India the people can often be got to assess themselves by means of village panchayats, nothing of the sort can be done here. Government has to rely solely on a special establishment of assessors, and what the result is, every mofussil officer knows. Everywhere the rich escape and the poor are unduly burdened. Bitter discontent is universal. In some districts where the population is of a turbulent character, disturbance is apprehended. In another direction we could name a zemindar whose ryots have actually fled

across the British frontier to escape the chance of being sold out of house and home.* Every district officer and every Commissioner tells the same story as the native and English press, while to all alike Government replies with an incredulous smile, that as only one man in five hundred is taxed, no great pressure can be felt. Whether assessments are or can be fairly made, whether native assessors and their subordinates make use of the power of oppression which they must necessarily possess,† whether the poorer classes in this way feel and dislike the tax—all these are simple questions of fact which must be decided on the evidence of competent witnesses, and placidly to meet them with the assertion that only one man in five hundred can have cause to complain, is nothing to the purpose. These are matters into which Government is bound to enquire, and the persons to whom its enquiries should be addressed are neither the Manchester Chamber of Commerce nor the Pope nor the ex-Emperor of the French, but the many intelligent persons, native and European, official and non-official, who reside in the mofussil of Bengal. It is not an abstract economic question, but one of practical administration and good policy.

Even statistics, however, tell the same tale, as will appear from the following figures, if we bear in mind the fact that in England a man's own statement of his income can generally be received as practically correct, but in India scarcely ever. The superficial area of Bengal is estimated at 337,000 square miles. The population is roughly calculated as forty millions, and the number of actually surveyed villages in the regulation districts alone is 164,879. These so-called villages often include several distinct groups of houses or villages in the English sense, and in order to form an estimate of the amount of work which has to be done, it is necessary to take this fact into consideration, as well as to allow for the non-regulation provinces for which we are unable to give correct figures. Now the only

* Since the above was written, we have learned that the case referred to is not a solitary one. We also hear that in Chota-Nagpore the income tax is commonly known among the natives as "the oppression tax." From another part of the country numerous petitions have been sent up, each signed by fifty or sixty people, in which one of the grievances alleged is a breach of faith on the part of Government in imposing the existing heavy tax, in spite of assurances previously given that even the comparatively light rate levied last year should only be temporary. Whether the assessors gave such assurances, it is impossible to say.

In any case combined petitions of this kind indicate the existence of a state of public feeling which is very undesirable in a district largely inhabited by Wahhabis, or, as they are there called, Ferazis, and noted for the unscrupulous boldness of its numerous river dacoits.

† The only way in which an assessor's work can be tested is by the amount of his collections and the unfrequency of appeals against his assessments. It is therefore evidently his interest to let the rich off easily, and to recover the amount so sacrificed from men too poor to bear the cost of an appeal.

machinery for taxing all these forty millions consists of sixty-one special assessors and a hundred over-worked sub-divisional officers. If any one hopes that with an establishment of this strength even an approximation to a correct assessment can ever be made he must be very sanguine in his views, and a few minutes' conversation with any one of the sixty-one assessors would thoroughly undeceive him. If the number were doubled or trebled, it would not make very much difference, for the task before them would still be far beyond what they could ever hope really to accomplish, and in fact nothing can in our opinion be more evident than the utter impossibility of making anything like a serious attempt at a correct assessment till the people can be induced to make it in some way for themselves. If the village institutions whose destruction our laws have so effectually completed, should ever, in whatever form, be revived, equitable direct taxation may become possible. Till then, every attempt in that direction must necessarily fail. Neighbours, putting their heads together, might form a very fair guess as to a man's income, and comparatively little attempt would be generally made to deceive such a tribunal; but a stranger coming for a day to a village cannot hope to arrive at correct results.

To sum up, then, the case with regard to the income tax, it would appear that the opposition excited by its inevitable pressure has been increased and embittered by the universal belief that no serious attempt at economy has been made, and that either owing to the complicated system with which it has to deal or to the want of special capacity, the estimates of revenue and expenditure made by the Financial Department are entirely untrustworthy. It has also been apparent that Government, while itself very imperfectly informed as to the real effect of its measures on the country and consequently very imperfectly competent to frame a sound financial policy, has received all criticisms and suggestions coming either from its own subordinates or from the non-official public in a most unjustifiable attitude of contempt and defiance. As for the native population, they are angry and excited for the very sufficient reason that they are everywhere liable, if not actually subjected, to oppressive exactions pitilessly enforced.

With the single exception* of the income tax, the recent controversy on the subject of education has probably done more than anything else towards exciting the feeling of uneasiness and discontent which seems to pervade the country. To the greater part of the European community the questions at issue in this case are matters of no concern, but to the whole native population they are of the most vital importance. Here, at all events, it cannot be said, even by one who regards facts only as they appear from Simla, that native criticism has been a mere echo of European opinion, and it

is therefore well worth while to consider whether this case, like that of the income tax, has not been treated in a radically wrong and perverse manner.

Now it is tolerably evident that if, as the Government of India apparently thinks, the educational system of Bengal is faulty and inefficient as well as unnecessarily expensive to the State, the first thing naturally was to determine the nature of its deficiencies and the mode in which they could be remedied. Next to this should have come an estimate of the expenditure required in making the necessary changes, and after this had been accomplished, the further question would remain whether the increased expenditure required could be met from the imperial exchequer, and, if this were not possible, in what form special provincial taxation could best be imposed.

Unfortunately nothing in the least resembling this course was followed. The real educational condition of the country, as we showed in our last number, has never been investigated, and it is therefore superfluous to add that no practical means have even been suggested of removing its defect. Nor has the financial branch of the question been more satisfactorily treated. All the details of the controversy have been so frequently and fully discussed that it is unnecessary for us here to do more than call attention to a few of the more prominent points; so, omitting for the sake of clearness all superfluous details, the first point to which we desire to call attention, is the extraordinary vagueness of idea and hastiness of judgment displayed in the first position taken up by the imperial Government, as expressed in a letter written by Mr. Bayley, the Home Secretary, in October 1867. Having apparently leaped for very insufficient reasons * at the

* Mr. Chapman, the Commissioner of the Presidency Division, in an able letter written in June 1868 says:—"A missionary, well qualified to judge and experienced in respect to both provinces, tells me that in his judgment based upon intercourse with the people, there are decidedly more readers among the masses of the Lower Provinces than among the people up-country." This is of course far from conclusive, but we have not met with the evidence of a single competent witness in support of the opposite view. There is no subject on which windy verbiage is more plentiful than the condition of the ryots in Bengal, but solid information regarding it is not easily

accessible. The testimony of some of our best missionaries must be received with some degree of caution. They are men, whose earnest philanthropy, undoubted honesty, and intimate knowledge of the people deserve and win for them the most attentive consideration, when they bring forward definite facts, but the special point of view from which they naturally regard the moral and intellectual condition of the people, as well as the tendency towards inconsiderate rhetoric, which the practice of pulpit oratory usually produces, makes it necessary to receive their wise opinions expressed in general terms with some reservation. There is a certain school of economists, too,

conclusion that primary education is less widely spread in the Lower Provinces than in other parts of India, Government in the letter to which we refer puts forward the strange proposal that the funds required for the purpose of extending vernacular education should be raised by a cess levied on all zemindars in proportion to their sudder jumma. It has, we believe, been disputed whether this was really the meaning of the proposals then put forward, but the plain words of the letter leave no room for doubt on this point, for after arguing that "the main burden of vernacular education in Bengal should, the Governor-General in Council thinks, fall not "on the imperial revenues, but as elsewhere on the proprietors of the "land," Mr. Secretary Bayley goes on to add in a subsequent paragraph :—"Regard being had to the circumstances of the country, "it is probable that a cess, at least as heavy as that borne by the "zemindars in the Central Provinces, viz. 2 per cent on the imperial revenue, might fairly be imposed." The origin of the misconception on which this curious suggestion was founded, may be very easily seen. Where the revenue paid to Government bears a fixed proportion to the gross produce, and the land is held either by village communities through their officers or by landlords who come into direct contact with the actual cultivators and can realize from them increased rents as their profits increase, a cess proportioned to the revenue paid to Government may be a very equitable mode of raising the funds required for the establishment of schools, the construction of roads, or any other useful purpose. It is quite a different matter in Bengal, where the amount of land-tax paid by him to Government affords no indication whatever of the profits received* by a zemindar, and where a very large part, if not a majority, of the land-holders have merely bought or inherited the right to receive a fixed rent-charge from the holders of permanent undertenures. The notion of imposing in Bengal a cess proportioned to the land revenue paid by each zemindar was evidently borrowed from the North-West, or the

whom any mention of the permanent to settlement irresistibly impels to vomit forth floods of neatly turned sentences about groaning masses, teeming millions, miserable serfs, and other similar topics. What we require is accurate information regarding the prevailing rate of wages, the price of food, the security of tenure and the tendency towards emigration, in different parts of India; and even the fullest statistics regarding these and other similar points are pretty sure to mislead in some way or other, unless they are handled by

men intimately acquainted with the social condition of the people to whom they refer. Without this, mere figures can never be understood.

* So far is the amount of land revenue paid by a landholder from being a test of his income that, as Babu Joykishen Mookerjee says, a man sometimes pays Rs. 50,000 to Government and has only Rs. 10,000 for himself; while Mr. Money, the Commissioner of Bhaugulpore, reports that "zemindars of ten and twenty thousand Rupees will pay in some instances less than Rs. 100 of revenue." • •

Punjab, by men quite ignorant of the social condition of the Lower Provinces,* and the possibility that such defective information should exist among those to whose hands is committed the financial and executive control of every department of the administration, is, in our opinion, sufficient of itself to prove that there is something radically wrong in our present system of government.

Subsequently the discussion took a somewhat altered form. Local roads wandered in among the primary schools, and the Supreme Government, while adhering to its opinion that only land-holders should be taxed, seems to have given up the notion that the proposed cess should be proportioned to their sudder jumma. Ultimately this position also was evacuated and the proposal made to tax all persons interested in 'rateable' property, whatever that may be. The despatch addressed to the Home Government has been studiously kept out of sight, but it may be inferred from the Duke of Argyll's reply that this was its general purport.

However this may be, the whole matter was referred to the Secretary of State, who replied in a lengthy despatch, and laid down for future guidance, three cardinal principles; firstly, that the zemindars of Bengal are, like all other classes of society, liable to taxation; secondly, that local taxation is necessary at all events for the purpose of constructing roads; and thirdly, that a cess is to be imposed by the local Government on all proprietors of, and all persons (whether agricultural or urban) who are interested in, property which can be made accessible to rates.

Now the first of these principles had never recently been disputed, and has been more or less consistently acted upon ever since the time of the late Mr. Wilson. The second may have been thoroughly equitable and politic, though the principal argument used in its support during the controversy to which we refer, was a consistent refusal on the part of the Supreme Government to hear a word against it. Of the third it is not too much to say, that if it were not so vague as to be practically meaningless, no words could well be found too strong to use in reprobation of its mischievous absurdity. It has already been pointed out that the amount and nature of our requirements for schools and roads have never been determined or even enquired into, and it is evident that the choice of a cess on rateable property, as the best form of local taxation, has been made with an equal want of careful consideration. Indeed, it

* In a letter written on April 25th 1868, Mr. Secretary Bayley actually says "not only can there be no reason why a similar tax should not be imposed for similar purposes in Bengal, but in the opinion of the

Governor General in Council there is no part of India in which the proprietors of the land can be so justly expected to bear burdens of this nature."

may be said to have been arrived at almost by accident. If Bengal had been taken as it stands, and the attempt had simply been made to devise the most equitable and least burdensome mode in which a given sum could be raised, no sane person would ever have suggested that as a preliminary operation we should make an enquiry into the receipts and disbursements of nearly every man in the province. The income-tax is bad enough, but in theory it only affects a small minority, and it is a wise and statesmanlike measure compared to a cess on all interests in rateable property, involving, as it must, the necessary condition of an enquiry into the exact nature of every landed tenure in the country. Some conception of what this work would in some parts be, may be formed from the fact that in the single district of Chittagong there are 60,000 tenures held direct from Government; and that during the past year alone nearly 15,000 permanent under-tenures were created there. Heaven help the miserable sinner who has to enquire into them all, among a people who will joyfully spend their last rupee in litigation over an old stump of a tree worth perhaps four annas! As an alternative plan, we would beg to suggest that a poll-tax should be imposed, graduated according to the number of hairs on the heads of the population.

The fact of the matter is, that the present aspect of the question can only be explained historically. The discussion began, as we have shown, with a wild proposal to tax the zemindars of Bengal in proportion to their sudder-jumma, and, as no branch of the question has been distinctly and logically treated, the result is that the notion of a cess of some kind, as the only possible means of additional taxation, has apparently been accepted without discussion. There seems, too, to be a good deal of delusive confusion regarding the meaning of the phrase 'local taxation.' In England the term is applied to rates assessed and raised by elected representatives of limited communities, each of which spends on itself all the money which it collects. The system does not work altogether satisfactorily, and there is reason to think that it will soon be to some extent abandoned, but it undoubtedly possesses the merit of helping to train men into habits of self-government. Here the case is entirely different. Local taxation either has no distinct meaning whatever, or it simply means taxation peculiar to Bengal or some other part of the country. There are no small communities to whom the assessment and collection of taxes could be entrusted, and if the peasant, for whom, when it suits their purpose, our theoretic economists can express such vivid compassion,—if the peasant we say, is to be harassed by direct taxation at all, it matters not a straw to him whether his payments are credited by the Account Department under the heading of Local Funds or Imperial Revenue. It may be said that men will bear taxes more readily

when they know that the proceeds go to pay for roads and other manifestly advantageous improvements, but this will be equally true whatever may be the form of our taxation. Facts are stubborn things, and what we want is a statesman who will study them, and whose mind is not enslaved to names and notions taken from England or from the Punjab. The permanent settlement of Bengal may have been a wise or an unwise measure ; for ourselves, we believe it to have been a disastrous result of that same Philistine incapacity to recognize unfamiliar facts of which we now complain ; but, whether its results were good or bad, it is too late to escape from them now, for the simple reason that the revenues unnecessarily then sacrificed are not now in the hands of any single class from whom they could be recovered, but have distributed themselves through a complicated system of under-tenures amongst the whole agricultural population from zemindar to ryot, or, in other words, they have been shared amongst something like nine-tenths of the people of the province.

All we have to do is simply to consider, with reference to recognized principles of taxation, how Bengal can most easily bear whatever burdens it is necessary to impose upon her. We must expect from our minds any hankering desire to come down on zemindars or ryots, or traders, or any other class of the community against whom we may on theoretic grounds entertain a grudge ; we must get rid of puzzle-headed notions about the term 'local taxation,' and recognize the fact that, at all events in this part of India, it simply means taxation peculiar to a single province ; for when we have done this, and not before, will it be possible for us temperately to estimate all proposed schemes of taxation with sole reference to equality of incidence, lightness of pressure on the people compared to the amount realized by the State, freedom from arbitrary assessment, and other such like points, which, out of India, are usually regarded among educated men as those to be chiefly considered. Bengal must not of course be allowed to shirk her fair share of contribution to the general revenue of the country, by crediting to herself customs duties really paid by consumers in Upper India. Payments must be credited to those out of whose pockets they actually come ; but, bearing this in mind, the sole test of merit in any proposed taxation should be its equitable incidence and the lightness of its pressure on the people. Whether similar taxes are levied in Little Peddlington or Bankumabad, and if so, whether they are there classified as 'local' or 'imperial' imposts—all such questions as these we would leave to amuse the leisure of idle people with a taste for comparative statistics. Common-sense generally prevails in the end, and we have no doubt whatever that the absurdity of the current notions, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say the current phraseology, on the subject of local tax-

ation will, at no very distant date, be recognized; but it is highly improbable that this desirable result will be attained so long as we have at the head of our financial administration a man who is such a slave to words and figures, and so enamoured of uniformity as gravely to state in Council that it distresses him to think, not that the general burden of taxation is too heavy in some particular province or class—not that the inequality of customs duties in different parts is so great as to induce smuggling,—that is not what distresses him, but the simple fact that the people have to pay a different price for their salt in different parts of the country. We cannot help wondering whether the same unpleasant effect is produced on Sir Richard's feelings when he reflects that the average height of men varies very much in different parts of the country, or that red hair is unequally distributed. It is not our intention to recommend the imposition of an increased salt tax as a way out of our alleged financial embarrassments; for what we suffer from is the extravagance of our outlay, and if our revenues are insufficient to meet the present rate of expenditure, a reasonable degree of economy in the great spending departments would at once restore the balance.* All we contend for is a system of finance not founded on thoughtless misinterpretations of words or fantastic analogies with other provinces and States, but a calm consideration of the requirements of each province; and if ever such a policy should be adopted, we are bold to say that, if additional burdens be really necessary, whatever else may be chosen as the least objectionable means of raising

* The real difficulties of the salt question of course arise from the fact that any great inequality of taxation between different parts of the country involves the necessity for expensive inland customs lines. We regret, however, to notice that Mr. W. Flower, a member of Parliament, writing in the last number of the *Indian Economist*, appears to have been misled by the old pseudo-philanthropic twaddle on the subject. Salt costs no more now than it did twenty or thirty years ago, and as prices generally have largely risen, it has proportionately fallen in value. Moreover salt is brought to Calcutta by ships which would otherwise have to come out in ballast, and every increase in Indian exports, increasing as it does the tonnage required to carry them, tends also to lower outward freights

and so to keep down the price of salt. A single full-grown man does not require more than a seer of salt in the month—costing him on an average about two annas. If the price were raised one-half, the result as affecting the lower classes would be a poll-tax varying between twelve annas per annum for full-grown men, to about one and a half or two annas for young children. A man with a wife and three children would perhaps pay one rupee eight annas altogether. But he would pay it without being aware of the fact. If any one really thinks that this would be more burdensome than a direct tax imposed in some complicated way on every one who has ever so small an interest in anything, we can only express our inability to conjecture how his opinions are arrived at.

the money required, it certainly will not be a tax involving either conjectural assessments by under-paid and over-worked native subordinates, or a detailed inspection of the private accounts of the whole agricultural population of the province. The blame does not lie with us if we have insulted the understanding of our readers by arguing seriously about such absurdities.

We have discussed at some length the way in which the income-tax question and the education controversy have been mismanaged, because we believe that the action of Government with respect to them is typical of the mode in which it treats a large number of the problems with which it has to deal. These two particular cases have come with unusual prominence under the notice of the public in consequence of the large pecuniary interests involved in them; but it is very safe to assume, and those who have an opportunity of judging are unanimous in declaring, that they are not unique or exceptional instances, but fair samples of the curious way in which we are governed. Political affairs in India are so carefully shrouded from the vulgar gaze, that only a few initiated persons know how they are carried on. When they are mismanaged, the outside world may have its suspicions; but it cannot generally produce evidence of the fact. All it knows of any case is the final decree. It would be tedious to support our view by further detailed criticism, but, as far as the prevailing system of jealous concealment will allow us to form an opinion, we hold ourselves fully justified in saying, that not only in the two particular matters which we have discussed, but in nearly every important case which comes before them, there is manifest, on the part of our present Government, the same feeble grasp of facts, the same want of sympathy with the people, the same preference of fanciful analogies to sound reasoning, and the same determination to prevent any such criticism or advice from without as might throw doubt on the perfect completeness of its handiwork, or disturb the basis of reports and tabular statements on which all its proceedings necessarily rest. An exception must be made regarding those cases which come before the Legislative Council where, in consequence chiefly of the untiring exertions of one clear-headed member, every matter connected with Bengal is at present sure to be thoroughly sifted.

What is required is a change, not of rulers but of system. It would not be easy to find in India a body of men on the whole more suited for the position which they hold than the present members of Council, and if the affairs of the country are very frequently mismanaged in the manner indicated above, we may feel certain that it is by reason of external causes, and not from any innate perversity of nature in men like Messrs. Strachey and Ellis. The *personnel* of our finance department is undoubtedly not so strong as one might wish, but great

Inciers are not met with every day, and when found they are not very eager to expatriate themselves in India; and our aim should for this, if for no other reason, be to devise, if possible, a system which can be worked by men of ordinary good capacity.

An illustration borrowed from Europe will throw some light upon the problem which has to be solved. Let us suppose, then, for a moment—God forbid that any part of our supposition should ever be realized—but let us suppose that the Prussians, under the leadership of their pious and Christ-like king, have succeeded in their design of reducing France to a state of complete powerlessness; that they have swallowed up Holland, Denmark, Switzerland and Austria; and that at last, by means of the force and fraud in the use of which they are equally skilled, they have succeeded in bringing all Europe under their supremacy; or, if the fancy of our readers is unable to admit such a wild improbability, let us suppose that the Comtist dream has been realized, and that all Europe has been gradually brought, by the peaceful influence of moral ideas, into one great federation with Paris for its head and heart in one. Let us suppose, too, that the Central Council of a dozen men, which administers the affairs of Europe, lives half the year in Paris and half the year in the island of Madeira; and that the system of centralized authority is so perfect, and the power of national governments and their subordinate prefects so circumscribed, that, without the order of the all-powerful twelve, not even an additional porter can be employed in the London Docks. The symmetry and order of such a government would be admirable. Everything relating to outlying provinces would be carefully reported to Paris in black and white. These reports would be numbered and docketed and reprinted in volumes of proceedings, so there would be no room for blundering or confusion. Justice would be administered, order would be preserved, taxes would be levied, on one uniform plan, which would gradually be brought to a state of perfection. There would, no doubt, be a grand central bureau of agriculture and trade, and it makes one's heart bound with excitement to think of the countless tons of tabular statements which would gradually be collected there. Think of the career, too, which would be offered by an army, in which a man might start as an ensign in the Italian *bersaglieri*, gain promotion as a Captain in a corps of Cossacks, and finish up by doing general duty with the British Horse Guards Blue. No doubt, there would be some slight disadvantages in such a system of government. The central authorities would necessarily be always in a state of the most profound ignorance of the facts with which they had to deal. Reports they would have by them in dozens on every subject under the sun, but the knowledge which can be gained from reports is not of an exhaustive kind. When a village was spoken of, the idea called up in

the mind of one honourable councillor would be a Russian commune, while another would immediately think of Peckham. If the Christian religion was mentioned in the course of any discussion, it would mean to one man the Free Kirk of Scotland; and to another the semi-idolatrous Catholicism of Southern Italy. A peasant to one man would mean a small Flemish landed proprietor, to another an Irish cottier. The Turks would bitterly complain that the great English proprietors did not pay anything like their fair share of land tax. A proposition would perhaps be brought forward, with the support of an unanswerable array of figures, that Oxford and Cambridge and Eton and Winchester should be disendowed, and the money spent in educating the barges of the eastern counties. The soldiers might not be very ready to follow on the field of battle men whom they had seen for the first time a fortnight before. In a word, the wishes and sympathies of each separate people, and the peculiar social and economical condition of each particular State, would be omitted from consideration, for the very sufficient reason, that they would be in the main unknown, and government would be conducted on such principles that it might possibly last three days—certainly not more.

Now, we should be very sorry to say that India, at the present day, is politically in such a state as that in which the various countries of Europe would be under the circumstances supposed. The strong individual self-assertion which characterizes men of Western origin is wanting here. Nor are there for the most part among the peoples of India a national history and body of traditions such as in Europe are alone and in themselves sufficient to fix a great gulf between one race and another. Still, the difference is only one of degree. Sikhs and Ooryas are as diverse in their character and social habits as Englishmen, Spaniards and Greeks. To us the differences between the various peoples of India appear less striking, because the wider distinction between all Orientals and ourselves diverts our attention from minor details; but they are not on that account the less real. At all events, they are quite wide enough to require, as a primary condition of good civil administration, a system so elastic as to allow the utmost possible diversity in the details of organization. Anything more totally irrational than the notion of governing in a progressive spirit two hundred millions of men belonging to a score of different nationalities, with no information to go upon but such as can be embodied in written reports—anything more absurd, we say, than this could hardly be devised.

As long as attention was concentrated on matters of foreign policy and internal administration was carried on in a purely conservative spirit, a centralized administration could do its work efficiently; but, at the present day, when our efforts are all expended on objects of internal administration, it is absolutely essential that the real go-

verding power should be in the hands of authorities sufficiently near to each particular case which may come under consideration, to understand its circumstances and form a sound judgment on its merits. If the real work of government be transferred from the supreme to the provincial authorities, uniformity and symmetry will no doubt be gradually lost. Administrative and fiscal progress will take a different direction in different places ; but to say this, is, in fact, to condemn the present system by the admission, that, if each province could consult its own special interests, it would not follow the course in which it is now compelled to go. The constitution of the present governing body offers no security that in the case of every matter which comes up for consideration there shall be even one man with sufficiently detailed local knowledge to understand aright its real nature ; and even, if there were one such man, his voice is liable to be overruled by others. Moreover in the multitude of councillors is wisdom, and, if the ablest man in each province were always in council to represent it, his single opinion would not be worth nearly so much as the united counsels of the numerous advisers of adequate knowledge with whose assistance a local government can frame its measures. To illustrate the case again by a comparison with Europe, if half-a-dozen of the ablest men in England had been appointed to settle the Irish land question, or to devise a scheme of English national education with no better information than could be got from a few reports, there can be no doubt that the result would have been a most miserable failure ; and yet they would have started with far greater advantages than Indian legislators command, because they would have been far more capable of full sympathy with the people affected by their deliberations. The chief advantage of such a system of government as we have in England, is the security which it affords, that before any measure is adopted, the facts of the case will be fully brought into relief by exhaustive criticism from every point of view. We cannot have the same security here, but we can at least do something in the same direction by putting the practical work of government, as far as possible, into the hands of men to whom a knowledge of the facts with which they have to deal, is not from the nature of their position inaccessible.

Nor is a closer connection between Government and the people, and a greater adaptation of its measures to their requirements, the only advantage which would be gained by such a decentralization of authority as we desire to see. One of the most fatal results of the present state of things is an enormous and daily increasing amount of insincerity in the practical work of administration. When some rule or order comes down from the Supreme Government, which, being founded on abstract theories, is inapplicable to existing circumstances, it is well known that remonstrances

are unavailing, and another mode of getting over the difficulty is therefore adopted. It is passed from grade to grade among those who are to carry it out with what may fitly be described in figurative language as a wink—the meaning of which is that the whole thing is rubbish, which must be tolerated, but does not deserve much respect. The Commissioner is fully aware that the Local Government concurs in his sentiment, and although he officially commends the objectionable order to the special attention and observance of the Magistrate, this officer has probably heard from him in the course of after-dinner conversation that the rule laid down cannot in his opinion really be observed, and the result of course is a mere hollow pretence of obedience. Perhaps the best instance of what we mean, is found in the frontier districts of the Punjab. Officers there who must do their work effectively or risk very serious consequences, are, if report speaks true, constantly compelled to go beyond the powers conferred on them by a criminal law unsuited to the place, and the result is that the tone of the whole administration is lowered by a system of sham compliance with the law which must inevitably break down under the supervision of the new Chief Court. In Bengal it is in numberless trivial matters that this sort of thing goes on. For instance, a magistrate knows that he is liable to a suit in the civil, if not in the criminal courts, if he impresses carts or coolies, but he also knows that he cannot travel through his district or provide carriage for the baggage of troops passing through, without doing illegal acts, and that if he fails to get what is required, he will be handed up, and rightly handed up, by his Commissioner to Government as a useless and inefficient officer. Some thirty years ago, before the system of sham compliance with inconvenient rules had been brought to its present perfection, constant correspondence on this subject used to be carried on between Government and district officers. Railways have now made requisitions for carts in great numbers a rare occurrence, but the law and practice as they stand are nevertheless still an instance of what we mean in complaining of insincerity in administrative work. If it is necessary that frontier officers should have wide and summary jurisdiction and that magistrates should have power to impress carts and coolies, authority for the purpose should be given by law, with proper limitation to prevent its abuse. And if we were governed on utilitarian principles by practical men, such authority would undoubtedly have been given. Nothing of the sort can be expected from pure theorizers who take a bird's-eye view of the country from the slopes of the Himalayas and decline to believe that the same treatment is not always applicable to Wuzírís or Bengalis as to Englishmen.

To the Indian financier decentralization is the one only hope of real and lasting success. Till the same authorities are responsible for economy and administrative efficiency, we are sure to go from bad to worse. Every local Government clamours for the money which it wants to carry out the numberless schemes of improvement and reform which are pressed on its attention in every department. Any attempt made by the Supreme Government to cut down expenditure is looked upon as an injustice—almost as a personal affront—and strenuous efforts are made to oppose it. When local Governments have to provide their own ways and means, we may feel certain that they will in a very large number of cases form a different opinion on the comparative importance of economy and liberal establishments.

In devising a practical plan of decentralization, great difficulty will no doubt be found. Adequate security and elasticity of revenue must be secured for the central Government, if it is not at once to give up all use of the national credit and all large schemes of material improvement. This is one necessity of the case, and it is no easy task to reconcile it with the wide freedom of action which must be secured to the local Governments. It would be out of place at present to enter into the details of all the proposals which have at one time or another been put forward, and we will therefore content ourselves with saying in conclusion that, however short and halting may be the first step taken towards a rational system of government, it will deserve the approval of all candid men if it be honestly made in the right direction. Innumerable difficulties must at first prevent rapid progress, but the gratitude of all India will be due to the statesman who first buckles to the work which has to be done, with no paltry desire to shuffle off responsibility or to evade temporary embarrassment, but with a genuine recognition of the principle that if our rule is ever to have a solid foundation—if it is ever to adapt itself to the requirements of the people, we must throw aside once for all our passion for uniformity, and vest the widest possible discretion in those authorities who are brought sufficiently in contact with their subjects to know what they are and what they want.*

* Since the above article was written, the Resolution of the Supreme Government on the subject of decentralization has appeared in the *Gazette*. It would be presumptuous to criticise its details without bestowing on it far more careful consideration than the

time now at our disposal would admit of; and we now therefore merely express the hope that, however far this Resolution may leave us from the end which must finally be attained, it will still prove to be the beginning of a new and hopeful era.

ART. VII.—PERSIAN POETRY ;
WITH SOME TRANSLATIONS FROM HAFIZ.

SIX months ago we published in the pages of this *Review* translations of two or three poems from the writings of Saadi and Hafiz. In the observations prefixed to those translations, we hazarded the criticism that "good poetry among the Persians might almost be designated as accidental." The opinion gave great offence to a critic signing himself "Persicus," who appeared in the columns of the *Friend of India*, and with great vigour of language abused our translations, denounced us for "literary immorality," and applied a variety of uncomplimentary terms to our intellectual capacity. "Persicus"—who, we cheerfully acknowledge, possesses a far wider knowledge of Persian literature than ourselves—only asserted his own opinion so far as to say that a certain ode of Hafiz is one of the most beautiful love songs in the world. He relied mainly on the authority of Sir William Jones, who had declared that he knew of no English poet, except Chaucer or Shakespeare, who could be compared with the author of the *Musnavi*, and that the plan of the *Shahnamah* was in some respects finer than that of the *Iliad*.

These statements suggested the idea of the present essay. Critical judgments, when thus nakedly stated, are simply incomprehensible. It is impossible, at least so it seems to us, to express either assent or dissent, until we know the train of reasoning which has led up to it. To us Chaucer and Shakespeare are so totally unlike one another that without an explanation we do not see how they are both to be compared with a third ; and the *Musnavi* is, both in spirit and purport, so utterly different in kind to anything which Chaucer or Shakespeare wrote, that we cannot conceive on what characteristics, common to the three writers, Sir William Jones would base his comparison. The same difficulty encounters us in the judgment passed upon the *Shahnamah*. This poem is a rhymed chronicle of the ancient kings of Persia, and to compare it in point of plan with the *Iliad* appears to us as reasonable a proceeding as to assert that the plan of Hume's *History of England* is finer than that of the historical plays of Shakespeare. The two plans cannot be compared, because they have nothing in common. Finally, with regard to the Ode from Hafiz, the reply which at once occurs to one is obvious. What is your idea of a perfect love song ? And have you read all the love songs in the world to pronounce with so much confidence on the superiority of this particular one ?

such were the thoughts which rose in our minds as we read Persicus's liberal denunciations of our intellectual ineptitude; and precisely the same objection, it appears, can be urged against our dictum on the accidental character of the fine passages in Persian poetry. The term needs explanation. We propose, therefore, in the present paper, to discuss both *the form* and *the matter* of Persian poetry, and to give our reasons for holding that, when judged by principles of comparative criticism, Persian poetry must be pronounced far below the poetry of Europe. Our illustrations will be drawn from English literature as most familiar to ourselves and our readers. We enter upon the discussion in no dogmatic spirit, and shall cheerfully surrender our convictions so soon as "Persicus" or any other Paladin of oriental learning shows them to be erroneous.

1. *The form*.—Poetry, says Coleridge, is not the proper antithesis or opposite to prose, but to science. Poetry is opposed to science, and prose to metre. The proper and immediate object of science is the acquirement or communication of truth. The proper and immediate object of poetry is the communication of pleasure. In other words, though poetry deals with truth, and exercises a power over the human heart only so far as it is rooted in and draws its life from truth, it presents truth to us under such forms only as communicate pleasure. Thus, for example, there is no subject on which poets have more delighted to dwell upon than war, there is no subject on which men have listened to them with keener delight. And yet intrinsically there is nothing so horrible and utterly revolting as the carnage and brutality of a battle-field. But a poet passes over all this as unfit for his purpose. He dwells only on the picturesque and elevating incidents of war; the animating sound of the trumpets, the glitter and thunder of a cavalry charge, the heroism, scorn of death, and splendid self-sacrifice, which come forth so conspicuously from the dark background of horror. It is thus that poetry is distinguished from the arduous path of knowledge, in that it creates "a smooth and finished road on which the reader is to walk onward easily, with streams murmuring by his side, and trees and flowers and human dwellings to make his journey as delightful as the object of it is desirable." It makes the road thither a source of distinct enjoyment, which stimulates the student, not less than the prospect of the end whither he hopes to be conducted.

But, as the definition, that the communication of pleasure is the immediate object of poetry, would include within its scope novels and other works of fiction, Coleridge proceeds to inquire after the special characteristic which distinguishes poetry from other compositions having the same object in view. This he finds in "that pleasurable emotion, that peculiar state and degree

of excitement which arises in the poet himself in the act of composition ; and which in all ages has found a means of expression in metre, in rhythmically arranged sentences, and a use and selection of (what are called) figures of speech, both as to their kind, their frequency, and their occasions, which on a subject of equal weight would be vicious and alien in correct and manly prose." As an example of the pomp and splendour of imagery, which a metrical arrangement renders beautiful and appropriate, take the following stanzas from Shelley's poem of *The Cloud* :—

"The sanguine sunrise with its meteor eyes,
And burning plumes outspread,
Leaps up on the back of my sailing rack,
When the morning star shines dead.
As on the jag of a mountain crag
Which an earthquake rocks and swings,
An eagle alit one moment may sit
In the light of his golden wings.
"I bind the sun's throne with a burning zone,
And the moon with a girdle of pearl ;
The volcanoes are dim, and the stars reel and swim
When the whirlwinds my banner unfurl.
From cape to cape with a bridge-like shape,
Over a torrent sea,
Sunbeam proof, I hang like a roof,
The mountains its columns be.
The triumphal arch through which I march
With hurricane, fire and snow,
When the powers of the air are chain'd to my chair,
Is the million coloured bow."

It would be difficult to surpass the splendour of this passage. Language, in the hands of Shelley, becomes an instrument as subtle and sensitive, as responsive to the minutest shades of feeling, as music itself. He is the very Turner among poets, in the vivid and airy touch with which he reproduces the fleeting and evanescent in nature, the atmospheric effects of storm and mist and sunshine. But magnificent as *The Cloud* is as a poem, any attempt to produce the same images and expressions in a prose composition would be absolutely intolerable. How is this ? What is there in a poem which allows this ? It is, says Coleridge, the pleasurable activity of mind aroused in the mind of the reader by the rhythmical arrangement. The reader is carried forward, not merely or chiefly by the mechanical impulse of curiosity, or by a restless desire to arrive at the final solution, but by the pleasurable activity of mind excited by the attractions of the journey itself. Like the motions of a serpent, which the Egyptians made the emblem of intellectual power, or like the path of sound through the air, at every step he pauses

and half recedes, and from the retrogressive movement collects the force which again carries him onward. "The final definition, then," Coleridge concludes, "may be thus worded: A poem is that species of composition which is opposed to works of science by proposing for its *immediate* object pleasure not truth; and from all other species having this object of pleasure in common with it, it is discriminated by proposing to itself such a delight from *the whole* as is compatible with a distinct gratification from each component part."* Thus, in the instance of *The Cloud*, the poet draws from each component part—from morning, evening, night, and storm,—a distinct gratification, which, however, does not absorb into itself the entire attention of the reader, but impels him forward "by the continued excitement of surprise, still gratified and still re-excited," and is always co-existent with a sense of pleasure from the poem as a whole, moulded and fused together by what Coleridge terms "the synthetic and magical power of the imagination." In other words, this is that unity of impression which must be imparted by any set of verses claiming for themselves the name of a poem.

"Unity of impression," however, having rather a vague sound, we will bespeak the patience of our readers while we adduce a few examples from English literature in illustration of our meaning.

In the tragedies of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, Shakespeare has made a supernatural visitation the agent which guides and controls the whole action of the piece. But this communication visits two natures radically different from one another. The object in each piece is to trace the development of these two dissimilar characters under similar but utterly abnormal circumstances, and in either play all the parts are toned down and subordinated to this leading idea. In the meditative and philosophic nature of *Hamlet*—accustomed to shape his thoughts and actions by the conclusions of reason—this strange visitation, falling athwart the accustomed way of experience, cuts, so to speak, all ground of assurance from under his feet. The apparition unsettles all his original grounds of certainty, but furnishes him with no other in their place. It

* "The first or enabling condition both for the production and enjoyment of poetry is a mind comparatively at ease. * * This is quite consistent with the fact that some of the most beautiful poetry has been wrung forth by suffering; for it has been written in the intervals of suffering, and the exercise of poetical imagination on it has been itself one of its alleviations. The poets who have so written have not only held

their grief at arm's length, as it were, but have counteracted the pain inherent in it, even when so held, by the pleasure of exercising the energy of imagination. This is true also when applied to acute pleasures. They do not become poetical until they held are at arm's length, and pierced through and through with imaginative thought."

Hodgson's *Theory of Practice*, vol. i, p. 274.

brings perplexity and not conviction, and throws doubt alike on the conclusions of the understanding and the testimony of the senses.

An intellect upset, lost in a bewildering labyrinth of doubt and speculation which paralyses the powers of action, this is the spectacle presented to us in the delineation of Hamlet. In strict keeping with the vacillation generated by incessant self-questioning, the movement of the piece proceeds with the utmost slowness. The repeated solicitings to avenge his father's death do not impel Hamlet to action. They throw him, as it were, back with greater and greater force on the old rocks, against which all his mental powers are fast breaking up and falling into fragments. He turns, wavers, thinks and speculates, seeking again and again for some sure basis for his reason, but finding none.

In *Macbeth*, on the other hand, the supernatural appeal is made to an imagination already inflamed with the lust of power and flushed with success. To Hamlet the world is an unweeded garden, and all its uses stale, flat and unprofitable. To *Macbeth* it is the all in all. The supernatural visitation which deepens the despondency of Hamlet into scepticism and utter weariness of life, works upon the imagination of the ambitious soldier till his whole being, as it were, is absorbed in one thought. The intellect here is thrown into abeyance; it is the imagination alone which drives him forward, and hence the movement of the play is rapid in the extreme; there is no backward eddy, no deliberation of thought, no weighing of the reasons *pro* and *con*, but one incident hurries after another with unstaying swiftness to the final catastrophe. Coleridge has noted this same unity of development in the tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*. "Read *Romeo and Juliet*," he writes; "all is youth and spring—youth with its follies, its virtues and precipitancies; spring with its odours, its flowers, and its transiency; it is one and the same feeling that commences, goes through, and ends the play. The old men, the Capulets and the Montagues, are not common old men; they have an eagerness, a heartiness, a vehemence, the effect of spring; with Romeo, his change of passion, his sudden marriage, and his rash death, are all the effects of youth; whilst in Juliet, love has all that is tender and melancholy in the nightingale, all that is voluptuous in the rose, but it ends with a long deep sigh like the last breeze of an Italian evening."

Now it is just this unity of feeling, this fusing together of a poem into one harmonious whole, which is not only wanting in Persian poetry, but which never seems to have been present to the minds of Persian poets. We write, we acknowledge, without an extensive acquaintance of Persian literature, and there may be poems unknown to us to which our remarks are inapplicable, but they

certainly apply to the works of Ferdausi, Hafiz, Saadi, and Omar Khayam—names deemed to be among the greatest in Persian literature.

The *Shahnamah* cannot in any true sense of the word be styled an epic at all. You may sever it almost where you will, and the separated fragments would remain, with no enhancement perhaps of their original beauty, but assuredly with no diminution. It is simply, as we said before, a rhymed chronicle of fabulous kings, with no coherence of plan whatever, or any inner organic connection. There is not, from beginning to end, so much as an endeavour to delineate character. Rustum, who may in some sort, be considered as the hero of the *Shahnamah*, is no more of a human being, than the iron man in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. He is simply a machine in the form of a man, and possessed of almost unlimited force. At the age of five, he kills with one blow of a club a mad white elephant; when he puts his hand on the backs of the strongest horses, they sink down and roll upon the earth incapable of enduring the pressure. The Divs are his favourite victims. The strongest of these he can seize by the neck, drag from their horses, and dash them to the earth. This, in fact is the Persian's invariable mode of representing perfection in poetry. Ought a hero to be strong? He at once makes him capable of piling Pelion upon Ossa, or eating a crocodile. Ought a lovely damsel to be slender-waisted? We have her depicted forthwith with a waist, the thickness of half a hair. To be in extreme, appears with them to be synonymous with the sublime.

The *Shahnamah* abounds with descriptions of battles, and in these Ferdausi is held to be specially excellent. Many of them are undoubtedly depicted with great spirit, but the absence of the "synthetic and magical power of the imagination" becomes at once apparent, when we compare his highest achievements in this line with those of any great master of song—such for example as Sir Walter Scott. Scott had the *seeing eye* of the true poet; he could discern the particular incident, the particular feature, which gives the predominant feeling to whatever he desired to represent. Hence in his description—say, of Flodden field—there is no endeavour after minuteness of detail, but just a point here and there is seized and brought prominently forward, and all else suggested but not directly indicated. But in Ferdausi, the incidents of a battle-field are catalogued with the minuteness of a price-list; and piled up one atop of another like bricks on a wall. There is no movement, no synthesis; each detail stands out in the immediate foreground, without perspective, or due relation to the rest of the picture, like the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelite school of artists. Saadi is a moralist rather than a poet, and the greatest admirer of Persian literature will scarcely care to contend for the greatness

of the *Bostan* as a poem. Hafiz however, is a genuine poet—so far as we know, the sweetest of all Persian poets, and it grieves us to have to say anything seemingly in depreciation of him. There is in his poetry a freshness and a fragrance as of early spring flowers, a careless outpouring of joy as free from any after taste of bitterness, as the carolling of a bird amid the leaves of summer. All problems of life and thought he pushes to one side by a simple reference to Fate, and dwells upon an earth where “no cold moral reigns.” Roses, wine and women—spring, summer and sunshine—these things are all pleasant surely, and “who knoweth, what thing cometh after death.” Such is the beginning, middle and end of Hafiz’s philosophy.

These peculiarities impart an unthinking animation—a sort of soulless delight in life, like that of Undine’s before she knew how to love—which act with a wondrous charm upon the Western mind, burdened with the weight of so many inscrutable mysteries. But in his odes also the synthetic and magical power of the imagination is conspicuous from its absence. They run in couplets, attacked by such a slender thread of connection, that they can be arranged in almost any order without injury to the purport of the poem as a whole.

This then is what we intended to mean by the expression that ‘good poetry among the Persians might almost be designated as accidental’—namely that a poem was not regarded by the Persians as something one and organic, to be moulded and developed in accordance with some preconceived idea. Certain things—for example, roses, nightingales, wine, and women with black moles on their cheeks—are considered poetical in so special a sense, that a man who rings the changes on them, writes poetry of necessity. Strong in this conviction, the Persian poets sing out *all* that is in them, careful only for the construction of the verse, and a due garniture of the recognised poetic imagery. Occasionally, as in the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayam, despair at the utter inscrutability of the mystery of life reaches the point of sublimity. But it rises for an instant only from the ordinary level of roses and wine cups, and sinks back with the same rapidity. The poet only hits upon excellence, as it were, by an accident. It is but a passing flash which illuminates the darkness. Sir William Jones’s account of the *Musnavi*—considered by the best judges the finest work in Persian poetry—exactly bears out this conclusion. The *Musnavi*, he says, is a medley of pathos and sublimity, the purest ethics mingled with the grossest obscenity, utter doggerel interspersed with passages of the finest poetry. The criticism is equally applicable to all the Persian poetry with which we are acquainted; and we cannot discover any expression better fitted to mark the character of such a literature than to say that its merits are ‘accidental’—as not being subordinated to any fixed principles of Art.

2* *The matter.*—We now come to the second and most important branch of our inquiry—the comparative merits of English and Persian poetry in the matter of which they are composed. And here at the outset we would deprecate the wrath of Oriental scholars. We have no wish whatever to undervalue the merits of Persian literature or the genius of Persian poets. The inquiry we are about to enter upon, does not touch upon questions of individual merit—whether, for example, Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton are finer poets than Ferdausi, Saadi, and Hafiz; but upon the *substance* of Persian poetry taken as a whole, the elements of which it is composed, and the causes which have moulded them into this shape rather than another. The inquiry is not one in which special pleading is possible. It assumes that the poetry of a nation is one special mode of manifesting the spiritual life of that nation, and endeavours to ascertain the character of that spiritual life in the history of the people. Whatever cogency, therefore, our reasoning may carry with it, depends upon historical facts and not upon personal prepossession.

Some months ago, in the pages of this *Review*, we touched upon a somewhat similar inquiry. We attempted to show how diverse influences acting upon poetic genius, induced at one time that order of poetry known as Dramatic; and at another, Lyrical. In the present paper, our aim will be to show that the education to which the mind of the West has been subjected, has revealed aspects of human nature and evoked a passion and a power unknown in the East, with the inevitable result of producing a literature infinitely profounder in import and wider in scope. We will take the Western world first.

The cardinal doctrines which Christ taught, were the unity and loving nature of God—the divine life in Man—the law of self-sacrifice as the principle that should govern all human relations—the unity of the human race in the bond of one divine and omnipresent Spirit—the redemption of the world from evil, and an immortality beyond the grave. These doctrines were accompanied by a peculiarity in the manner of their inculcation. Christ taught as “one having authority,”—that is, He did not enunciate these propositions after the manner of a philosopher as things which might conceivably be true, but as one speaking of that which he *knew*. He came as a traveller from some distant country, and testified of that which He had seen. And not His words only, but His whole life, He taught His followers to believe, were intended to manifest the eternal life of God, now for the first time in any degree of completeness made known to men. All He did, and all He suffered was a gradual discovery under the conditions of time, of the everlasting relations between God and man. Christ among the Pharisees—Christ associating with publicans and sinners—Christ healing the sick—Christ

setting forth the laws of the unseen world by illustrations drawn from the order, the permanence, and the beauty of nature, was unfolding in a single city and to a single people the laws of that kingdom which it is the will of God to establish throughout the earth. The axe was being laid to the root of the tree; the old world was passing away. In place of the superstitious fears of the unknown world came the revelation of a loving Father who hated nothing that He had made. The precepts of the sermon on the mount struck at the roots of that love of self and worship of power, which had converted the earth into an arena for men to tear down each other like wild beasts. The death upon the cross completed the perfect manifestation of that law of self-sacrifice, which is the source of all human happiness, as self-assertion is the cause of all human ill. Finally, the resurrection and ascension poured a flood of light through the dark portals of the grave, revealing a new and better life beyond, where man, freed from fleshly incumbrances subject to disease and pain, should become wholly a spiritual creature.*

Three years at the most sufficed to root these amazing convictions so deeply in the minds of a few Jewish fishermen, that they went abroad, bent upon no less a purpose than to overthrow the idolatry of the Roman Empire, and—strangest fact of all—they succeeded. "Rome" says Dean Milman, "must be imagined in the vastness and multiformity of its social condition, the mingling and confusion of races, languages, conditions, in order to conceive the slow, imperceptible yet continuous aggressions of Christianity. Amid the affairs of the universal empire, the perpetual revolutions which were constantly calling up new dynasties or new masters over the world, the pomp and state of the imperial palace, the commerce, the business flowing in from all parts of the world, the bustle of the Basilicas or courts of law, the ordinary religious ceremonies or the more splendid ceremonies on signal occasions, which still went on, if with diminishing concourse of worshippers, with their old sumptuousness, magnificence and frequency, the public games, the theatres, the gladiatorial shows, the Lucullan or Apician banquets—Christianity was gradually withdrawing from the heterogeneous mass some of all orders, even slaves out of the vices, the ignorance, the misery, of that corrupted social system. It was ever instilling feelings of humanity yet unknown or coldly commended by an important phi-

* A word or two of explanation is perhaps necessary to justify our apparent assumption of the divinity of Christ and the historical accuracy of the four Gospels, as matters beyond dispute. It is not necessary in an inquiry of this kind to examine the evidences of Christianity—the fact

being indubitable that Jesus Christ was regarded by the Christian world as we have indicated in the text, and our only object being to ascertain—such a belief being given—the manner in which it has affected Western civilization.

losophy, among men and women whose infant ears had been habituated to the shrieks of dying gladiators; it was giving dignity to minds prostrated by years, almost centuries, of degrading despotism; it was nurturing purity and modesty of manners in an unspeakable state of depravation; it was enshrining the marriage-bed in a sanctity long almost entirely lost, and rekindling to a steady warmth the domestic affections; it was substituting a simple, calm and rational faith and worship for the worn out superstitious of heathenism; gently establishing in the soul of man the sense of immortality, till it became a natural and inextinguishable part of his moral being." Great as these achievements were, they represent only a very small portion of the work which Christianity began in those days and which she has been carrying on ever since. The battle Christianity has had to fight has been not merely to be accepted as a creed about God, but to have that creed acknowledged in its entirety—admitted to the uttermost limit of its logical issues by the gradual eradication of all prejudices and superstitions which ran counter to its fundamental propositions. This has been the great work of the past eighteen hundred years. Every convulsion in European history, every new birth of human thought, has resulted, consciously or unconsciously, in a better understanding of the teaching of Christ, but the work seems still far from completion.

It is, we are of course aware, customary to divide Christianity into ethics and theology; and with many people it is also usual to speak of the ethics as productive of much good, and the theology of infinite evil. It is not, however, difficult to show that the ethics are in truth the flowers which spring from the theological root—and which, if severed from their parent stem, would rapidly wither and die. It is the theology of Christianity which has given a sanction to the ethics, and fed them with the sap that has preserved their vitality. It is the Christian theology far more than Christian ethics, which has made the Western world what it is.

Take, by way of example, the doctrines of the unity and love of God. We are apt to think both of these propositions as so consonant to reason that men must accept them so soon as they understand them. In truth, the history of every religion is a refutation of this notion. Men, it would be much truer to say, cannot hold steadfastly to either of these beliefs save in an exceptionally high state of mental culture. There was no trace of either the one belief or the other among the Greeks or the Romans, if we except some of the vague and lofty imaginations which visited the mind of Plato. Among the Jewish people, the unity of God was continually cast aside in favour of the grossest idolatry; "saying," as Jeremiah complains, "to a stock, Thou art my father, and to a"

stone, 'Thou hast brought me forth.' When Christianity appeared in the world, the idolatrous tendencies of men might be said to have attained their climax; and any or every proposition about the powers of the unseen world was eagerly welcomed by numbers of people.

A world thus brought up from childhood in the belief of polytheism, could not lay that belief aside by making a new confession of faith. The gods no longer could dwell in heaven when those unseen regions were filled with the brightness of the God manifest in Christ. But, though deposed from the celestial kingdom, they became the lords of the infernal regions—the princes of the powers of the air—who divided the possession of the souls of men with the one God. Then, as the years went by, the unity of God itself became a mere doctrinal formula, gifted with little of practical value. A whole hierarchy of saints and angels became the steps of the divine ladder, through the aid of which men ascended into the presence of the Most High. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the middle ages, is to behold this polytheism becoming more and more defined and ingrained, until Martin Luther uttered his tremendous protest against it, and through the fires of persecution and the smoke of the battle-field, conducted men to the foot of the Cross to learn the true nature of that God revealed to them on the hill of Calvary. Even at this day, the horror which so many Christians feel at the idea of every human being without exception being an heiritor of salvation is a convincing proof of the difficulty to admit the logical issues involved in the doctrine of the perfect love of God.

Take again the doctrine of the divine life in man, or, in the words of St. Paul, "the Christ in us." There is no rule of life which men have been so slow to learn as that of the equality of man. The division of the human race into Greeks and Barbarians, into bondmen and free, into Brahmans and Sudras—are alike assertions of a radical difference between man and man—fatal, so long as it continues, to any true brotherhood of spirit. Christ's whole life was a protest against this assertion, and it is easy to see how the doctrine of the "Christ in us" in the old world, and again in the middle ages, struck off the chains of the slave, elevated woman from a degrading servitude, gradually effected the effacement of caste distinctions, and mitigated the severity of persecution. Camille Desmoulins, the noted republican, spoke perhaps a deeper truth than he intended, when in his profane fashion he declared Christ to be the first and greatest of the "sans-culottes."

The doctrine of a divine and omnipresent Spirit uniting all the generations of the world, has gradually broken down the isolation and hostile feelings of separate communities, has sent men abroad to all nations, as pioneers of culture and civilization not less than

as missionaries of religion, has unsealed the inexhaustible fount of charity, and inspired us with a deep and active conviction in the innate greatness of humanity. A system of ethics not based upon and sanctioned by a revelation of God, would have been utterly powerless against the savagery of the middle ages. As a matter of fact, the Christian ethics were hardly obeyed at all. But from the theology of Christ there was no escape. The anguish and misery which they brought upon themselves, drove men by slow degrees, to act in some conformity with their deeper convictions—to make some effort to discover the true order of the universe according to the Christian hypothesis.

It is the fact of a continual progression towards truth and freedom which gives to the history of the Western world so profound an interest. Nothing, so to speak, has been lost, but all that men achieved in one age has become the starting point whence the next generation began its race. The goal is still far away in the future, but we discern the dim outline in that one feeling which, under two diverse aspects—now as the enthusiasm of humanity, and now as the passion of love—is the animating all-pervading soul of the lyrical poetry of the nineteenth century. It is the long and weary journey men have had to tread, the sufferings they have endured, the obstacles they have overcome, which have made these convictions of such priceless value, and given to our expression of them such passionate intensity. For every European people has been welded into a nation in the furnace of affliction. The weakness and misery of disunion have only, after centuries of suffering, taught the individual or the class to seek for his or their good in the welfare of the State. And still it seems that the like anguish must be inflicted and endured, before men will see that what is true of the class or the individual is not less true of the nation; that all humanity is indeed and in truth a single organism, where, if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; if one member rejoice, all the members rejoice with it. But the poets of a nation are those who can read this "open secret of the Universe"—who can interpret to the multitude "the prophetic soul of the great world dreaming on things to come." It is their intense humanity, their living sympathy with all estates and degrees of men, which have made the names of Byron and Shelley a sort of watch-word to the republicans of the present day. It is his profound sense of the grandeur of human nature, of the one heart endowed with infinite aspirations, and beating alike beneath the garb of the peasant the warrior and the statesman, which will obtain for Wordsworth the prize of immortality. They have interpreted to us the lessons of the past, shaped into language our own dim and speechless thought. But, if Christ had never

lived and died, if He had never taught the theology of Christianity; all these great ideas, to judge from the experience of the old world, could never have become the common heritage of men.

And this, perhaps, is the best answer to those who discredit the divinity of Christ—to bid them ponder on the effects of His life and teaching. Among a people exclusive to the last degree, the son of a carpenter suddenly appears and proclaims a faith "broad and liberal as the casing air." He makes a few journeys between Jerusalem and Galilee, heals a few sick folk, and preaches what he calls the "Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven." He is then seized and executed. This man proves mightier than all that went before him, mightier than all that have come after him. His personality and his teaching win hearts to him, despite of torment or the fear of death, despite of centuries of crime perpetrated in honour of his name. The brightness alone of that pure and perfect presence dispels the thickest darkness, and he becomes, as he predicted that he would, "the Light of the world." All alike, believer or unbeliever, acknowledge Him as "the Way, the Truth, and the Life." He puts down all other gods under His feet; He works the deliverance of the world from evil by convincing men that good is mightier; He transforms love from a mere appetite into a deep well-spring of life, feeding all the springs of moral and intellectual strength; and more than eighteen hundred years after His death, countless hearts are still drawn towards Him with a deep and fervent love, and find His words and His example a perennial fount of inspiration. Finally, it is precisely the doctrines He proclaimed, which have carried our modern bards into regions of thought and speculation inaccessible to the heathen world. They have, so to speak, gathered together all that the great men of Greece and Rome bequeathed to them, and added thereto the humanity and spiritual insight learned in the school of Christ. We will now endeavour to contrast this discipline with the education of the East, or rather Persia. Our inquiry, we must repeat, is an attempt to account for the poetry of the East and the West by an examination of the pre-disposing causes. The inquiry is historical, and excludes us from the assumption of any supernatural causes, such, for example, as Christ's promised gift of the Spirit. No complete and satisfactory explanation of the phenomena of Christianity can, in our judgment, be given, except upon the supposition of some such divine influence; but it is possible to account for the differences between Eastern and Western thought, sufficiently at least for our present purpose, without having recourse to this doctrine.

In estimating the effects of Christianity and Muhammadanism, the first notable problem which attracts the attention is that

both religions insist upon the unity of God and the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. But in the East we find the first doctrine rapidly petrifying into a mere formula, and utterly incapable to check the growth of numberless superstitions radically at variance with it. In the West, we discover the same dogma triumphing slowly, but surely, over the polytheism of the old world, subsequently over the hardly less inveterate idolatry of Catholicism; and becoming century after century more completely a practical guide of thought and conduct. Exactly the same petrification on the one hand and the same quickening on the other, attends the belief in the immortality of the soul in the Eastern and Western worlds. We confess ourselves utterly unable to account for these opposite tendencies, except, as we have said, upon the hypothesis of a power other than the natural capacities of men, operating with a greater degree of enlightenment in the one case than in the other. There are, however, other, but what we should term secondary, causes which may be indicated. No creed can be ever separated from the character of its founder, and there cannot be a greater contrast in this respect than the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, and the Prophet's proclamation of the sword as the supreme arbiter in religious discussion. There was nothing attractive in the aspect under which Christianity was presented for acceptance, or the condition of its first teachers. The demand made on the credulity of those who accepted it was enormous—nothing less than to believe that a carpenter's son who had died the death of a malefactor, had risen from the grave and ascended into Heaven. The whole Faith revolved, so to speak, around these amazing assertions. If they were untrue, the whole religion was a dream and a delusion. The apostle of the Gentiles never shirked this tremendous issue. "If Christ be not risen," he declares in the most unmistakable language, "then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." Those who asked their fellowmen to accept this belief, presented in their own persons no confirmation of the protecting power of Him whom they preached and worked for. They were hungry and thirsty and naked; buffeted and with no certain dwelling-place; they were made as the filth of the world and the offscouring of all things. It was simply love of Christ, and faith in His Love, as a revelation of the Eternal Life which drew hearts towards him, and inspired them with the heroism to endure, like Him, revilings, torture and death. Thus, the very bond of union which held the nascent churches together, became that feeling which more than any other begets within us the desire of immortality, and the hope of its fruition, while the perils which surrounded them, made them feel by daily experience that here on earth the followers of Christ could look for no continuing city. "My kingdom is not of this world"

became through hard necessity a living conviction in the mind of the Christian hardly less than of his Master.

Far otherwise were the attractions held forth to the young devotee by the religion of the sword. Here the appeal was made to the passions of men. Black-eyed beauties upon earth, if he fought and lived—black-eyed beauties in heaven, if he died—such were the inducements which fired the fanaticism of the Musalman. In Christianity, the entire training was of a character to elevate and bring into prominence the spiritual part of our nature; in the religion of Islam, the gross and the sensual. It is not therefore surprising if the doctrine of an immortal soul became almost a fact of consciousness among the members of the one faith; and but a barren formula among those of the other.

So also with the doctrine of the unity of God. To the Musalman the unity of God was only a statement written in a book. No plank had been flung across to bridge the abyss which separated the human from the divine. "God stood alone in His nature, remote, unapproachable; in His power dominant, through all space and in all time, but divided by a deep and impassable gulf from created things." Consequently, when the first fervour of faith wore away, there returned the old terrible necessity to build up a way to God, through hosts of mediators, who gradually became invested with all the attributes of Divinity. But the revelation accorded to the early Christians was contained in a *life*, and not in a book. The Gospels, it must be remembered, were not even in existence when the apostles went abroad to preach; neither they nor their hearers knew aught but Jesus Christ and Him crucified. The effects of that early teaching have never been lost, and in the One God, Christians have always, with more or less of clearness, perceived the Man of Sorrows, the Lover of children, the Companion of the lost and forsaken, the compassionate Being touched with a feeling for our infirmities.

Many of our readers will perhaps think that we have dwelt at disproportionate length upon the theological tendencies of East and West. But in an inquiry of this nature, it was unavoidable. Men will form to themselves some theory of the unseen world, and, whatever that theory be, it becomes the basis of their life. They may endeavour to rest in a pure negation, after the manner of the Positivists, or in simple indifferentism, as nine-tenths of the men and women about us; but whatever be their mental attitude, it will impart its character to all their thoughts and actions. It is absolutely impossible to conceive of English literature, if purged from the admixture of Christian thought—of a Shakespeare, for example, without one thought of Him, who, "eighteen hundred years ago, was nail'd for our advantage to the bitter cross;"—or a Milton, with no other conception of the celestial beatitudes than

those compatible with black-eyed damsels and flowing cups of wine. The East and the West have reflected in their literature the image of the Rock whence they were hewn, and in so far as Christ was a greater power and more complete a being than the Prophet, in so far at least the poetry of the West must be superior to that of the East. If to this we add the absence of freedom and national life which mark the annals of the East, and the debasing tendencies of a social system which degrades woman into "a soulless toy for tyrant's lust," we shall have said enough to account for the unspiritual and passionless character of Persian poetry. Hafiz is, to our thinking, the best of the Persian poets, but when placed at the bar of comparative criticism, it is impossible to adjudge him a higher place than by the side of Thomas Moore in the hierarchy of poets. He is, in truth, the Thomas Moore of Persia, without the Irishman's love of country and freedom. To produce a Shakespeare or a Milton, or such poets as the lyrists of the present century, the conditions necessary are not to be discovered at any time or in any country in the East. The Persian poet can produce gracefully turned verses in unlimited abundance, but the deeper chambers of human thought he has rarely visited for a moment, and never attempted to explore. There is the same want of spiritual insight in the mysticism of the Sufi writers. They are fanciful rather than imaginative, extravagant rather than inspired. Plato, as for example in the dialogue of *Phædrus*, is a mystic who demands a response from the Unseen to some of the profoundest yearnings of the heart; the Persian Sufi is but a dreamer of dreams, who has given up the quest for truth, and regards not the sufferings of his kind. We do not say this in order to reproach the Oriental. A pure and progressive religion, a great past, the anticipation of a glorious future, the citizenship of a free people, and an enthusiastic recognition of the value of truth, such are the pre-disposing causes which bring the powers of the mind to perfection, and these have never been accorded to the people of Asia. A narrow and exclusive religion, a past swallowed in oblivion, a future involved in hopeless uncertainty, and a present chained to the throne of an alien despotism, such has been the mental atmosphere in which for centuries the Persian has lived and died. What Hafiz or Omar Khayam might have written, had all this been changed, it is idle to inquire. Under the conditions in which they lived, it was simply impossible that they should produce a literature comparable with that of their happier brethren in the West. And any one who studies Persian under the impression that a second Chaucer or Shakespeare is veiled under those graceful characters, will in his heart have to acknowledge himself mistaken, whatever he may assert to the world at large.

TRANSLATIONS FROM HAFIZ.

I.

I said, "O Queen of loveliness,
 Have mercy on a wretch like me!"
 She answer'd, "Love has brought distress
 To many a wretch like thee!"

I said, "Ah stay! and list awhile—"
 She lightly answer'd, "Pardon me,
 The Queen of Love has not one smile
 For such a wretch as thee!"

"The bright ey'd one who lays her head
 To sleep on silk—indifferent she,
 Though thorns and brambles be the bed
 Of such a wretch as thee!"

Ah! what a shrine for love has he
 Whose heart is fetter'd in thy hair!
 Ah, Mole! how blest to dwell like thee
 Upon that face so fair!

Among the lilies of her cheek,
 The transient blushes come and go;
 A wind-toss'd rose-leaf thus might streak
 The jasmine's breast of snow!

I said "The lover's resting place
 Is in the black night of your hair;"
 She turn'd on me her laughing face
 And smil'd at my despair.

"Ah, moon of mine!" I spake again,
 "Hide not that rosy cheek from me,
 Nor plunge my spirit cleft with pain
 In utter misery!"

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II.

The happy morn has just begun,
The red wine sparkles like the sun,
No better time than this will be—
Then fill a cup of wine for me !

O prating Preacher ! get you gone ;
Why stand you talking on and on ?
My heart has gone away from me ;
Ah, whither ? Not at least to thee.

Until her lute-like lips impart
Their sweetness to my lips and heart,
The words of all the wise would be
An idle gust of wind to me.

Her waist, I would so fain embrace,
God fashion'd out of empty space ;
A mystery this, that passes show,
Which no created soul can know.

The joys of the eight heavens meet,
About the beggar in her street ;
The prisoner of her charms is free
Of this world and the world to be.

The madness of my love has wrought
A ruin in my mind and thought,
And on that ruin, firm and fast,
My life has its foundations cast.

III.

That lovely one, with fairy face,
 Who fled last night from my embrace ;
 Alas ! what fault did she discover,
 To part in anger from her lover.

Ah ! since those world-illuming eyes
 From mine withdrew their sweet replies,
 No one the countless tears can tell,
 That from my eyes in anguish fell.

Far from that lovely cheek of thine,
 For ever from these eyes of mine
 The tears flow down ; my heart forlorn
 With grief as with a storm is torn.

Whisper'd my heart, " Prayer may obtain,
 That we behold her yet again ; "
 Ah ! many a day has pass'd away,
 Since all my life was but to pray.

Then wherefore should I labour on ?
 The altar of my faith is gone ;
 Wherefore remain in grief and pain ?
 The shrine of prayer comes not again.

But yesterday, beholding me,
 Spake the physician mournfully,
 " Alas ! the sickness of your heart
 " Is far beyond the power of Art ! "

Ah ! my beloved, why delay
 To ask of Hafiz, ere they say
 That from this shadowy world his shade has pass'd a

IV.

With laughing lips and loosen'd hair,
And footsteps light and soft,
With tatter'd garb, and wine-flush'd air,
And a full cup held aloft.

With eyes that sparkled like a flame,
And mouth that music shed,
In the middle of the night she came
And stood beside my bed.

And bending down with gracious tone,
She whisper'd in my ear,
"Ah ! my belov'd heart-stricken one,
Are you a-dreaming here ?"

Traitor to love that man would be,
Who could have put away
The brimming cup of wine, which she
Proffer'd in so sweet way !

Hence, holy man ! and cease to blame
The soul that thirsts for wine ;
When order out of chaos came,
And all this Universal Frame,
He placed the thirst that burns like flame
Into this soul of mine.

Whate'er it be His hand has pour'd
In this our mortal cup ;
Be it the wine of Paradise,
Be it the juice the grape supplies,
Shall we not drink it up ?

Ah ! many a vow which Hafiz made
In moments of despair,
A bright eye flashing in the shade,
A flow of tangled hair,
A laughing lip, a brimming cup,
Have look'd upon and broken up !

V.

We had not gazed our fill upon that face divine,
Ere she departed ;
And from that rosy lip we had not drank the wine,
When she departed.

Like one awearied sorely with company of our's,
So she departed ;
Robbing us of spring-time and the fragrance of the flowr's,
When she departed.

"Obey me," she had told us, "lest I abandon you,"
Ere she departed ;
We bow'd our heads before her, did all that we could do,
Yet she departed.

In the sweet walks of Beauty, her charming feet were set,
When she departed ;
In the Rose bowers of union, alas ! we never met,
Ere she departed.

She said, "The passionate lover should self-forgetful be,"
Ere she departed ;
With our hearts fixed upon her, what love of self had we ?
Yet she departed.

Her form was as a symbol of God's exceeding grace,
When she departed ;
We had not gazed our fill upon that lovely face,
When she departed.

VI.

Fair art thou from head to feet,
Fair and delicate and sweet,
As a dew-besprinkled rose,
And graceful as the cypress tree in Paradise that grows !

Sweet are those alluring looks,
Learn'd from Love's unwritten books,
Passing sweet thy fond caresses,
And beautiful the shining cheek which gleams beneath thy fresses.

Brilliant are the eyes that glow
Underneath that arching brow ;
Lovelier than the young gazelle
Which passes like a gleam of light across a shaded dell !

In those bowers of deathless roses,
Where a Poet's soul reposes ;
There thy image shining bright,
Illuminates the inner eye with loveliness and light.

Though the anguish and the smart
Like a torrent whelm the heart,
Wandering along Love's way,
Yet in the sunshine of thy love my stricken soul is gay !

VII.

The Rose is in the garden, but think not she will stay,
 Bring your wine, and bring your sweetheart, ere the bloom has pass'd
 away ;
 In the cool depths of the garden the crimson goblet glows,
 That sign of joy appearing at the bidding of the Rose.

With music and with laughter we pass within the bowers,
 Like nightingales we sink on the bosoms of the flowers ;
 Quick, Saki, bring the wine ! and where the Roses bloom,
 The corpse of old Repentance we will again entomb.

The dawn is veil'd in blushes, the sky is all aglow,
 Pour out, my friends, a morning draught, till the goblets overflow !
 A gale of heaven breathes from the gardens all in flower,
 From her throne of emerald the rose perfumes the bower ;

Upon the tulip's cheek the trembling dew-drops shine,
 Bring the wine, my dear companions, bring the wine !
 Be like Hafiz and drink kisses ; sweeter none were ever prest
 From the ripe lips of a Houri in the Gardens of the Blest.*

R. D. O.

* This translation and the one immediately preceding it, are reprinted from
 the *Pioneer*.

SONNETS ON THE WAR.

I.

A CHURCH IN SEDAN AFTER THE BATTLE.

The day is o'er, the battle lost and won,
 Fled the hot flush and fury of the fight,
 The rushing squadrons and the charge of might,
 The thunder-shouts of victory—all are gone.
 But whiter than the shapes of sculptured stone
 That watch their slumbers, where the pale moon smiles
 Thro' you fair Church's angel-haunted aisles,
 Can these be they by whom such deeds were done?
 Raise, holy Priest, thy crucifix on high,
 Sweet Sister, clasp the sufferers to thy breast,
 Moisten the wan lips numb with agony,
 And smooth their passage to the realms of rest,
 Poor victims of a Despot's fantasy—
 How long shall these things vex us, God thrice-blest?

II.

NAPOLEON AT WILHELMSHÖHE

Self-seeking Shepherd of the innocent sheep
Won to thy sway by fraud ! How just the doom,
That thou shalt sink inglorious to the tomb,
No holy mourners round thy grave to weep,
No good men's tears to sanctify thy sleep !
Yea, for thy Cæsar-forehead girt with bays
Of conquest, thou hast sown dishonoured days,
And nought save Dead-Sea fruit for France to reap.
Because no loftiness of thought endears
Thy visionary glory, based on crime,
O splendid Slave, not Conqueror, of the years !
We hail thy fall, most sad, but not sublime ;
For thou hast missed his rich reward, who wears
The armour of pure Truth, unstained thro' Time.

C. K.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

INDIAN SNAKES.—*An elementary treatise on Ophiology, with a descriptive catalogue of the snakes found in India and the adjoining countries.* By Edward Nicholson, Assistant Surgeon, Royal Artillery. Madras; Higginbotham & Co. 1870.

THE study of Herpetology in India has of late years, especially since the publication of Dr. Günther's monograph by the Ray Society, been pushed forward vigorously by those few naturalists who have devoted attention to that not generally attractive branch of zoology. The field of observation is large, and the labourers are as yet comparatively few, but still the time is fast approaching when it will be possible to compile a really comprehensive work on the subject, by the judicious amalgamation of the materials which such pioneers as Blyth, Jerdon, Theobald, Beddome, Stoliczka and others, have in various ways contributed to advance our knowledge of the subject. Some such work we may look for in Jerdon's promised Manual of the Reptiles of India. Meanwhile, we gratefully hail the appearance of the unpretending little volume before us, calculated as it is to ingratiate the study with a wider circle of observers than heretofore, by facilitating the acquisition of that elementary acquaintance with the subject which is essential to an intelligent interest therein. In his preface the author thus pleasantly expresses himself:—"I have written these pages as much in hope of dispelling the lamentable prejudices entertained in India against some of the most beautiful and harmless of God's creatures, as to afford an elementary treatise for the study of an interesting branch of natural history by which the weariness of Indian service may be mitigated."

The author goes on to observe:—"The Descriptive Catalogue in Part IV is drawn up on the basis of Günther (on the Reptiles of British India), and for the description of those snakes with which I am not personally acquainted, I am largely indebted to his work." No further acknowledgment is made by the writer to any of his other predecessors in Ophiology in India, though it is difficult to conceive a work of this nature being executed without some reference to the previous labours of such men as Blyth, Jerdon, &c.; neither do we think that the author would have been lowered in the estimation of his readers by some brief allusion to those Indian Naturalists who have laboured in the same field. On the supposition, indeed, that the preface is the last part of a work which an author prepares, it is difficult to acquit the writer.

of the present treatise of a very bad memory, inasmuch as it is clear that he has largely availed himself of the Catalogue of Reptiles by Mr. Theobald, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society for 1868, and of the Catalogue, by the same gentleman, of the Reptiles of British Burmah, published in the Linneæan Society's Journal, Vol. X, without acknowledging either of these sources of information.

The treatise is divided into four parts—Physiology; Natural History; Classification; a Descriptive Catalogue—and an Appendix. As a favourable specimen of the author's style in treating of Physiology, we extract the following passage from page 11:—“But it is in *Daboia* that we see the perfection of mechanism: on removal of the skin covering the cheek, we come at once across a strong tendon lying below the eye; it arises from the muscles of the cheek and from the fibrous covering of the poison-gland, and is inserted into the maxilla. This bone is found to be considerably modified in form; it is no longer placed below the orbit; this position is occupied by the elongated external pterygoid, whilst the maxilla, only one-fifth of an inch long (in a large *Daboia*) but double that in height, is placed at the end of this bone like a hammer-head at the end of its handle. Imagine the head of a hammer with the claw downwards, representing the fang, hinged at its junction with the handle, and with a string fastened to the head so as to erect at will the claw from its usual supine state; you will then have a pretty accurate idea of the mechanism of a viper's upper jaw.” We must leave the student to gather for himself the sundry items of information scattered through the six chapters, into which Part I is subdivided, most of which seems fairly and correctly stated. At page 16 it is said, however, that the number of longitudinal rows of scales varies from 12 to 75, but this is not quite correct, as in *Chersydrus* the number of rows exceeds 100. The name of Schlegel, whom the author, we believe, has consulted, might have here been complementarily alluded to.

Part II is divided into four chapters:—The Snake at liberty; the Serpentarium; the Museum; Antidotes to snake-poison. The proper means to adopt in order the more quickly to domesticate those cobras, which, for scientific purposes, you wish to study beneath your own roof-tree, may be here quoted, though we are not sanguine that many of our readers will attempt to profit by these directions; indeed, if their subscriptions are regularly paid, we perhaps would rather that they did not. “When the cobra is on the floor, squat down before him, and bring him to attention, if he is making tracks, by a smart smack on the back; then by a side-to-side movement of the knees, or gently moving in front of him a piece of chalk held in the left hand, he can be kept steady for a long time following your movements. If your attention relaxes,

"he calms down and backs away: catch hold of him by the tail, or smack him on the back, and he will come to attention again. Keep him occupied with an object in front of him, and you may do anything to him; place your right hand above his head, and you can bring him flat to the ground, swearing hard, but without any attempt at resistance." (p. 32).

The author most properly reprobates the barbarity some people are guilty of in thrusting a live snake into a bottle of spirits. The most convenient way to kill a snake is to put it into a bottle with a little chloroform, which in ten or fifteen minutes causes death painlessly, or "by blowing into his mouth a drop or two of the oil from a dirty tobacco pipe." This last is certainly an ingenious idea, but as all our readers may not possess "dirty pipes," we may mention the simpler plan of severing the spine at the nape with a penknife or pair of small scissors.

On the question of antidotes to snake-poison, the experience of the author is not hopeful:—"As for medicines given internally, I have but small faith in them. I have known a bad case of snake-bite cured by the administration of the contents of the cruet-stand mixed up together, but the remedy was heroic." And the author winds up the subject as follows:—"I have seen enough of experiments with antidotes to know that they are of a very unsatisfactory nature, and their evidence open to any amount of objection. Antidotes for snake-poison, like those for cholera, only succeeded in the hands of their inventors." (p. 42).

Part III contains three chapters:—Principles, Diagnosis of an unknown snake, and Method of description. The arrangement of genera seems little else than an abbreviated sketch of Günther's system, several genera mentioned afterwards in Part IV not figuring in it. These three Parts embrace 53 pages, leaving 63 pages occupied by Part IV, or the Descriptive Catalogue Proper. Of Part IV we regret we cannot speak so highly as we could wish, but its shortcomings are not perhaps so much due to any fault of the author's as to the supreme necessity of condensing matter within a moderate compass. An Army Surgeon cannot be expected to risk any considerable sum in the publication of a bulky volume, which will never pay by its sale what it actually costs. Experience has long since taught men of science the amount of encouragement they may expect from the well-to-do, if not wealthy, European public in India. Under these circumstances, there is little encouragement to aim at completeness in a work of this kind, but rather at so much only in the shape of detail and description as can be compassed without ruinous pecuniary loss.

Making, however, all due allowance for the above considerations, we think that the author should at least have given his authority for the specific names, which, save in a very few instances, he

never does. Neither is a single synonym given throughout the book, though in some cases such are required in any work pretending to scientific exactness. In many cases, too, the localities seem somewhat loosely given, and always without authority, so as to be of comparatively little weight, as it never appears when the author is speaking of his own knowledge, or merely quoting some perhaps very untrustworthy source. As an example of this we may instance *Geophis*, which is recorded from "Madras, Nilghiris." This is a Nilghiri snake, and therefore not very likely to come from near Madras; or, if by "Madras" the presidency is signified, it is an unmeaning term without further explanation.

In like manner we should have been glad to know the author's authority for the occurrence of *Python moberus* in Burmah. It may occur, but, as far as we know, *Python reticulatus* is the only species hitherto recorded from that province. At page 74 we read—" *C. Pictus* is noted by Mr. Theobald as occurring in Burmah." Now the only coluber in Mr. Theobald's catalogue, from Burmah, is *C. Nuthalli* (Theobald) with *C. Pictus* (Carlyle MSS. in part) quoted as a synonym. This *C. Pictus* is a mere MS. name, which is quite inadmissible, having been neither described nor published by its author, and merely attached to a museum label; moreover, several snakes were confounded under it, so that it is quite an error to rehabilitate it at the expense of the described and published name *C. Nuthalli*. Whilst on nomenclature, we may remark that Mr. Theobald seems to have incurred the disapprobation of the author by the manufacture of such generic names as "Falconeria," "Blythia," "Croten," &c. As we do not agree with the author, we quote his words at length that we may not be supposed to have weakened their force by curtailment. "The practice of naming new genera after private friends is very objectionable. Falconeria is, doubtless, a very handsome name that any snake might be proud of, but tributes of respect to my friends Smith, Brown and Robinson, would endow Ophiology with as hideous a set of names as any in a seedsmen's catalogue. Besides, there are many Smiths, and we should be compelled to fall back on such names as *Johnsmithia*, *Benjaminsia*, or *Sydney Smithia elegans*. Happy the pioneer in zoology, whose friends have handsome names." (p. 62) The last sentence, penned as a sneer, we see no reason for not very frankly endorsing as a fact, neither are we altogether free from a feeling of pain at the thought that in India of all places the hallowed name of Hugh Falconer should produce, in any one claiming to be a naturalist, no other response than a pitiful witticism about John Smith. The author may be right and we may be wrong, but we can see no inherent or self-evident impropriety in the creation of such generic terms as Falconeria, Blythia, and the like. The custom is a time-honoured, and we consider a justifiable one, and so we must

continue to think till such names as *Rafflesia*, *Jonesia*, *Careya*, *Oldhamia*, *Murchisonia*, are abolished by the general consent of the scientific world.

Among the more important omissions, we note the absence of the family *Dasyplutidae* which embraces one of the most singular snakes in the world, *Elachistodon Westermanni* (Rein), from Rungpore. This snake is described as possessing a series of gular teeth, if we may so term bony appendages to the cervical vertebra, which pierce the living membrane of the œsophagus, and being coated on their free extremity with enamel, simulate a row of true teeth. The function these curious appendages seem to perform is to ensure the more rapid and complete destruction of the shells of such birds' eggs as the snake may swallow, and the followers of Paley may possibly see in it a new and beautiful example of "design." A serious difficulty, however, to the complete acceptance of the dictum of this mildly wholesome philosophy is, the necessity of some rational explanation of how, according to the "design" theory, 999 snakes are left unprovided with so palpably beneficial an apparatus and yet get on just as well without it as the one favoured individual, which by the way would seem to be a rare snake, despite its natural advantages.

Another serious omission from a work of this character addressed to students is the absence of any allusion to the singular formation of the poison glands in some species of *Colophis*. In *C. intestinalis* (Laur.) these glands exceed one-third the length of the body, and, according to Stoliczka, who has recently verified Mayor's original description, "their anterior half is extremely thin, after which they gradually thicken, terminating in front of the heart with club-shaped ends, being here partially surrounded by the parenchyma of the internal organs." (J. A. S., 1870, p. 213.) At page 90 the author notices the circumstance of a *Gerarda*, generally reported to be a West Indian genus, having been caught at Rangoon. We may observe that some other snakes recorded in Gray's Catalogue as from the "West Indies," are really from Pegu, as for example, *Trigops fronticinctus*, which is common on the Arracan coast. In venturing, however, to correct the "habitats" of Indian animals as determined by naturalists in England, we feel we are venturing on very delicate ground, and even in pointing out the trifling difference, geographically speaking, between the East and West Indies, we are not sure that we may not incur the displeasure of those scientific magnates of Great Russell Street, whose geographical notions of "INDIA" are so very much more expanded than our own.

In conclusion, we can very cordially recommend the little work before us. We have not attempted to conceal its shortcomings, but it will nevertheless prove very valuable to all students.

who do not possess the elaborate monograph of Günther, and we sincerely trust the author may be encouraged by the disposal of the present edition to attempt another on a somewhat larger scale.

A SHAKESPEARIAN GRAMMAR.—*An attempt to illustrate some of the differences between Elizabethan and Modern English.* For the use of Schools. By E. A. Abbott, M.A., Head Master of the City of London School, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Revised and enlarged Edition. London: Macmillan & Co. 1870.

SOME years ago it used to be made a complaint against our system of high-class education in England that the study of Latin and Greek were unduly fostered in our Grammar Schools to the exclusion of more modern subjects, and especially of our own language. That complaint was not altogether without foundation. It was no uncommon thing to find boys, whose education was supposed to have been completed, unable to express themselves in ordinarily decent English. Even scholars, accustomed to clothe their thoughts in the language of Cicero or Demosthenes, found their acquaintance with English literature and history limited to what they had picked up by casual reading, or in those Shakespearean and other literary Clubs, the memory of whose sociable meetings must ever form one of the pleasantest associations connected with University life. Of late, however, all this has been changed. The study of the English language and English literature has been recognized as important, if not absolutely necessary, to the attainment of a liberal education. It occupies a high place in the list of subjects for the Civil Service Examinations. It has been introduced in all the middle-class, and in most of the higher, public schools. It is now occupying the attention of the University authorities. A play of Shakespeare has already been introduced as one of the subjects for the annual examination at Christ's College, Cambridge, and we hear that a similar innovation is in contemplation at Trinity.

It was only to be expected that the impulse which has thus been given to the study of English should call forth a literature of its own. Trench's unpretending little volumes are well-known to all, and since he created an interest in the subject, there has been no lack of writers. But one of the most able, and at the same time one of the most useful works on the subject, is Mr. Abbott's attempt, as he calls it, to illustrate the difference between Elizabethan and modern English. That the attempt has been a successful one, is proved by the fact that

a third edition of the *Shakespearian Grammar* has been called for within a year of its publication. Mr. Abbott is one of the most successful school-masters now working in England, and he has especially distinguished himself by the exertions which he has made towards reforming the curriculum of our middle-class education.

The *Shakespearian Grammar* is a neat little volume of about 500 paragraphs, in which the author explains and illustrates by numerous quotations the various difficulties which beset the student of Shakespeare. Taking the different parts of speech in turn, ambiguities of construction, or the various uses of the same particle, are explained with a critical and scholarly discrimination which leaves nothing to be desired. Anomalies of prosody are then considered, and examples given of questions for examination. To the whole are appended two indexes—one a verbal index, and the other arranged for certain plays; and so full is this latter index that, as Mr. Abbott himself says, “with the aid of a glossary and historical notes the references will serve for a complete commentary.”

We could not pretend, in a short sketch like the present, to convey to our readers anything like an accurate impression of the vast amount of scholarly labour of which this little book is the product. It is quite possible that in some instances Mr. Abbott has been misled into a confusion between what may be fairly called Elizabethan anomalies, and what are more probably due to poetic license, and may, indeed, be traced in the poetry, if not in the *prose*, of the present day. Thus, the use of the infinitive in the line—

“To fright you thus methinks I am too savage,”—*Macbeth*, iv. 2. 70.

is not surely so very unusual in modern times. It does not strike us as particularly Elizabethan (as distinguished from modern English) to say, “I was a brute to frighten you as I did.” But putting such cases as this aside, we are free to admit that Elizabethan English has its own anomalies and irregularities which call for explanation; and, if Mr. Abbott has made these anomalies an excuse to enter more deeply into the construction of our language than perhaps he need have done in a purely Shakespearian Grammar, we can only congratulate ourselves that we have all the more to thank him for.

It is with much pleasure therefore that we desire to introduce this little work to the notice of the educational authorities in this country, where the study of English forms, as it were, the basis of a liberal education. Bengali Baboos are said to be fond of quoting our prince of poets, and they will not quote him less intelligently, if they make themselves acquainted with Mr. Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*.

GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA, comprising a descriptive outline of all India, and a detailed Geographical, Commercial, Social and Political account of each of its Divisions, with Historical Notes. By George Duncan. Fifth Edition (corrected to the latest date). Madras: Higginbotham and Co. 1870.

JUDGING from the binding and general appearance of this little volume, we concluded at first that it was a new edition or reprint of the *Geography of India* in Allen's Series, which we had occasion to notice (not very favourably, we regret to say) a short time back. But on comparing the two books, although there is a certain identity in language as well as in form, they would not appear to be the compilation of the same hand. Were not the same publisher's *imprimatur* on the cover of both, we might be inclined to suppose that Allen's anonymous *Geography*, which we noticed last year, was a mere plagiarism of Mr. Duncan's, the first edition of which seems to have appeared in 1865. The fact however would appear to be, that both books are based on Thornton's *Gazetteer*, the very language of which has been largely borrowed by both writers, and this circumstance is sufficient to account for the very striking resemblance in their style. The following extracts from the description of Assam will give the reader an idea of our meaning:—

Thornton's.

"On the north, south and east Assam is bordered by mountains of great elevation. The face of the country within presents to the eye an immense plain, studded with numerous clumps of hills rising abruptly from the general level. In the number of its rivers Assam is said to exceed every country in the world of similar extent. The existence of sixty-one has been ascertained, and there are many others of less importance. The chief among them is the Brahmaputra" * * *

Duncan's.

"The country is almost a perfect flat, studded with clumps of little green conical hills which rise abruptly from the general level to the height of from 200 to 700 feet, and bordered on the north, east and south by mountains of great elevation. The Brahmaputra and its affluents, which are everywhere navigable, intersect Assam in all directions, and perhaps no country in the world can compare with it in the number of its streams. It is always swampy, and in the rainy season the country is flooded like an inland sea."

Allen's.

"This large and important province is part of an immense plain, studded with numerous groups of hills, from 200 to 700 feet in height, and bordered on the north-east and south by lofty mountains. It is intersected in every direction by rivers, of which the Brahmaputra is the principal. As many as sixty-one have been described, and there are others smaller. It is said that in this respect Assam exceeds every country in the world of similar extent. * * * The low lands are swampy, and in the rainy season flooded."

In his preface to the first edition Mr. Duncan writes:—"As accuracy is of the first importance in a book of this nature, I have been most careful in dealing with it (*sic*) throughout." The present edition is also said to be "corrected up to date;" and although some allowance must be made for a man who wrote in 1865 that irrigation canals had already driven famine from her strongholds, and that Assam had been rescued from the tiger and the jungle, still it might have been expected that a writer who undertook to compile a *Geography of India* would have taken some further steps to make himself acquainted with his subject than simply to plagiarize upon Thornton's *Gazetteer*. Mr. Duncan's book, however, no less than the *Geography* in Allen's Series, which we criticised last year, teems with inaccuracies,—inaccuracies so palpable, too, that a very little study and research would have sufficed to expose them. Thus, turning to Bengal, we are told that "all the divisions in the Lower Provinces, except Chota Nagpore and Assam, which are governed by Commissioners, are subject to the direct control of a Lieutenant-Governor." Mr. Duncan should know that *every* division has its own Commissioner; that in Bengal there is now an eleventh division called Cooch Behar, and that all eleven are under the direct control of the Lieutenant-Governor, none of them being "subject to the Supreme Government of India," as erroneously stated on page 82. Chota Nagpore does not signify "Nagpore the less," but is a corruption of *Chattria Nagpore*, the name of the old royal capital. "In the cold season," we are told, "north winds prevail, and shallow pots of water placed in the open air all night are found in the morning covered with thin sheets of ice." (p. 68) We doubt very much if ice is ever manufactured in this way below Allahabad. But what would our inland skippers say to the following:—"The steamers on the Ganges are especially adapted for its navigation, being made to draw little more than three feet of water. They drag after them, in the manner of a train, one or more passenger and cargo boats called flats, and so transport many tons at a time." (p. 79) Under the head of *Telegraphs*, the Assam line is completely ignored, while the East India Railway is the only one said to have a telegraph in connection with it. "In the neighbourhood of Rajmahal," we are told on p. 75, "are the Rajmahal hills, or Damanikoh, the first high ground to be seen in ascending the Ganges from Calcutta." We always thought, on the contrary, that the Damanikoh was applied, in accordance with its etymology, to the low lands *skirting* the foot of the hills. But there is no need to multiply instances of inaccuracies which ought not to exist in a school-book intended for the instruction of the young. The geography of India is a large subject, and the local knowledge necessary for its accurate description is probably not to be found in any single.

man. But Mr. Duncan should get his work revised by competent hands in different parts of the country, and then he might make it a first-rate school-book ; or let him wait until the new Gazetteers are finished, when he will find the work he has to do ready to his hand.

We should add that the index, like the rest of the contents of this *Geography*, calls for revision. An index can scarcely be said to be complete, which omits all mention of such places as Darjeeling and Serajunge.

THOUGHTS ON THE WAR AND ON EUROPEAN POLICY.—*By a Positivist.* Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. 1870.

THESE 'thoughts' are heralded in by the usual flourish of trumpets which announces the approach of a Positivist. Whatever be in the future for the religion of Humanity, it may be safely predicted that it will not suffer from any ill-timed modesty on the part of its professors. Auguste Comte set an admirable example in the way of glorification, which his followers have not been slow to imitate ; and our "Positivist" in this respect comes in no whit behind his better known co-religionists, Congreve, Brydges, Harrison and Beesley. Positivism, we learn from him, contains everything, and can do everything. It sets up "no rigid and uncompromising standard of belief." It is the only system which possesses "any real logical consistency." It is at once "elastic and coherent." It makes "due allowances for differences of opinion" ; and in this, as well as other points, stands in brilliant contrast to that effete thing known as Theology, which, we grieve to find, "is utterly powerless now to afford any solution, however vague and tentative," of practical difficulties.

We do not profess to understand at all precisely the language which the "Positivist" applies to his faith, but if theology has so completely broken down, as our author assures us it has, we would gladly be believers, if we could, in the efficacy of his substitute. Our difficulty lies, as much as anywhere, in the means proposed by the "Positivist" for accomplishing the millennium. They seem hardly adequate for the purpose. They are nothing else than to depose the Pope of Rome, and set up another in his stead who shall teach the doctrines of Auguste Comte in place of those of Jesus of Nazareth. At least, so we understand the following passage. "Until a power," says the Positivist, "somewhat akin to the spiritual power of Rome in the middle ages, is solidly established, until the nations are again united by a common religion,.....we shall never be free from constant rumours of wars, and from the occasional outbreak of such conflicts as the one we are now witnessing amid the rich plains and smiling valleys of Eastern France."

Assuredly, if this be all which Positivism can devise to remedy the evils of the world, the indifference of men to the new Gospel may well be excused. This remedy has been in operation for many centuries, and has availed nothing in the prevention of wars or rumours of wars. The crusades in Palestine and Provence, the murders of the Inquisition, the massacre of St. Bartholomew—forbid us altogether to hope anything of good from a spiritual power “akin to that of Rome in the middle ages.” The Positivist will, perhaps, retort that these are evils essential to a theological belief, but altogether incompatible with the religion of Humanity. A very little reflection, however, is sufficient to show that the persecuting tendencies of Christians did not spring from their faith in Christ, but from their want of faith in Him. They were the result of blind fanaticism, of egregious self-esteem, of a lust for power, of impatience of contradiction,—elements of human nature which display themselves in the most unmistakeable fashion in all the writings of Messrs. Congreve, Brydges, Harrison and Beesley, with which we are acquainted.

The truth is, that the world which Positivism proposes to construct is as impossible from the nature of things as the Republic of Plato. Just as in that dream of the great Athenian, Positivists desire to effect “the solidarity” of mankind by a complete effacement of individual eccentricities. Their millennium is to commence so soon as everybody in the world practises, as well as professes, the doctrines of Auguste Comte. Now it so happens that in China we have a very good representation of a State according to the Positivist’s ideal, and for that State the leading Positivists in England have more than once expressed their admiration. The great lawgiver of the Chinese—Confucius—was in truth an Auguste Comte who lived and died six hundred years before the birth of Christ. Like him, he held the organization of an empire to be a worthier object of study than all hidden and abstracted lore; like him, he prized a human morality more than all doctrines respecting the divinity, and did actually anticipate some of the most modern propositions regarding the relations between governors and governed. Like Comte, too, the two great seminal ideas in his system were, the idea of *duty* and the idea of *humanity*. Man, he taught, “must conform himself to the great law of duty, and this great law of duty must be searched for in humanity, which is the principle of love for ‘all men. This humanity is *man himself*: regard for relations is the first duty of it.” We are all aware how this system, with a bewildering minuteness of ceremony, strikingly similar in spirit and purpose to the *cultus* of Positivism, was adopted in China; how effectively it succeeded in extinguishing individualism and preventing erratic speculation, and how it remains in its integrity to this day. But it has carried with it absolute mental stagnation, which is now terminating in a

complete corruption of the body politic. This is inevitable. New truth must, in the first instance, dawn within some solitary mind, and then for the ruling powers there is but one of two courses open. They must either promptly extinguish the kindling spark, and with it blight all hopes of human progress. Or, they must permit it to spread, and with it all that follows from the jar and conflict of opposing minds—the building up of new systems, the severance of humanity into divers hostile sects, wars, persecutions, and the like calamities, to which Positivism proposes to put an end once and for ever.

The Positivist, and we may say Positivism, expect to get rid of this difficulty by casting theology overboard. This it is which has been at the root of all the ills that flesh is heir to, and the first step towards peace and order is to lay hold of this old serpent, which is the Devil, and chain him up for a thousand years, that he may deceive the nations no more. After that, what is required, our Positivist tells us, "is a doctrine which shall apply to the present and the immediate future, which shall regulate our *human* destinies." Positivism aspires to furnish such a doctrine, and one of its three grand axioms is, that considerations of a purely human character are alone "susceptible of legitimate and profitable discussion." The manner then in which Positivism proposes to set to work is, by a decree forbidding any further search after the absolute—or, to speak more intelligibly, after God—by simply ignoring, that is, the most active and deeply rooted instinct of humanity. This, in fact, is the glaring defect in the method of Positivism. Professing to base all its doctrines on the teachings of experience, it unhesitatingly declares that experience to be delusive when it passes the boundary it desires to impose upon it.

For how stands the matter with respect to this question of theology? In all ages and in all countries we find men searching for some absolute ground of existence, and everywhere the voices of the greatest and the best unite in affirming that search not to be a vain one—that God does reveal himself to the soul who seeks for Him. But not only do the greatest or the best bear this testimony. To all classes of men, high and low, wise and ignorant, this feeling of an invisible world, enwrapping them around, has been so awful and yet so ineradicable that they have fallen an easy prey to any man or men who professed to remove the veil. What shall we say then of a system which demands our attention on the score that it totally rejects the high *a priori* method, and yet at the very outset requires of us on *a priori* grounds to reject these reiterated experiences as delusive. Socrates, Plato, Paul, John, Augustine, Luther, Leighton, lived ages apart from one another—were as different in every respect from each other as beings of the same nature could be; but they all agreed in this, that an absolute Being

did reveal Himself to the minds of men as their Comforter, Friend and Guide. Their profound faith in this revelation was the mainstay of their entire lives ; and they were ready to, if need were—and many of them actually did—suffer death rather than abandon it. This, be it remembered, is not a question of scientific knowledge, but one simply of accurate self-examination—whether, in a matter where all men in all ages have been in possession of the same materials, Auguste Comte is likely to have seen and felt more clearly and more truly than the countless men and women whose prayers “ have gone up to heaven out of all times and out of all lands as a sacred *miserere*, whose heroic actions also as a boundless everlasting psalm of triumph.” For our part, we are free to confess that in matters spiritual we prefer to accept the verdict of the Apostles Paul and John to that of Comte, and his followers, Messrs. Congreve, Beesley and Harrison.

No man in truth perceived the spiritual needs of humanity more clearly than Auguste Comte ; but the barriers of his philosophy effectively prevented him from tracing those desires up to their source. The extraordinary *cultus* attached to his philosophy is the acknowledgment of them,—an acknowledgment which carries with it, as seems to us, the condemnation of the whole scheme. Positivism deprives men of God, and then bids them to satisfy their spiritual needs by the worship of each other. It seeks to destroy theism, and to substitute in its stead a gigantic system of idolatry. We hardly think that for such a haven as this, men will be induced to abandon their faith in One who of his tender love toward mankind sent his Son Jesus Christ to overcome death and open unto us the gate of everlasting life.

It is then a treble indictment which we have to urge against Positivism. First, that it hopes to accomplish the perfection of mankind by the suppression of the individual, whereas the full and free development of individual life is the essential condition of all human progress and enlightenment. Second ; it seeks to attain uniformity of thought and action by excluding God from the range of human speculation, whereas all that is highest and best in the history of the race has been achieved in the endeavour to find, or under the conviction that there is, a God who has made of one blood all nations who dwell upon the face of the earth. Third ; in both these cardinal points Positivism runs counter to its own fundamental thesis, namely, that every proposition which it advances, is based upon the experiences of humanity as recorded in history.

But though we consider the pretensions of Positivism, to be an adequate substitute for the gospel of Christ as utterly baseless and futile, we are not the less of opinion that these ‘ thoughts ’ may be read with advantage by any one interested in the present

great struggle. It pleases our author to speak of his opinions as Positivist in some special and exclusive sense, but this is a mannerism peculiar to his school. If Mr. Congreve came forward and repeated the multiplication table, we should expect him to add at the close,—“As a Positivist, I multiply in this manner; and it is common to all those who tread in the footsteps of the illustrious Comte.” Our Positivist is not free from this peculiarity, but if the reader excepts the frequent announcement “I am a Positivist,” and the words “proletariate” and “patriciate” where other writers would use “people” and “aristocracy,” there is nothing in the book which any thoughtful man with a love of freedom might not have written.

The Positivist is a strong Frenchman in his sympathies, and brings out very clearly the unscrupulous and grasping ambition of the Prussian Government, the combined fraud and violence of their conduct ever since the cruel and wicked assault upon Denmark. We think this passage very true, and forcibly put.

‘In estimating the conduct of France in regard to the present conflict, let us for a moment suppose that England had been the power ruling the territory which stretches from the Rhine to the shores of the Atlantic. How would that power which views with anger and suspicion the far-off advance of the Russian legions across the steppes of Central Asia, and which protests in no measured terms when France endeavours to occupy some miserable island in the Red Sea, have comported itself in the presence of a State which was engaged in continual intrigues and in the most unscrupulous self-aggrandizement upon its very frontiers? How would England have acted, when a power which she knew to be hostile was fortifying strongholds and organizing immense armies at her very gates, when every minor state which might interpose between her and her rival was practically annihilated? * * I am convinced that long ere this, had England been in the position of France, war and nothing but war would have satisfied her; that the whole nation would have insisted upon the paramount necessity of putting an end by force to the violent and cruel policy which endangered its own safety, while it thoroughly perverted the public conscience of the nation which had adopted it.’

Perhaps the weakest parts of this little book are those passages which the writer quotes from the better known writers of his school. We have seldom read anything more absurd than the following from Mr. Harrison’s essay on *England and France*. The writer undertakes to define the conditions under which war would be permissible even to a nation of Positivists.

“To save” he says, “a valuable element of the race from annihilation; to preserve a living organ of our civilization from destruction; to remove a cancer from political society—may yet become a just cause of war.” * * It must be a war, in which all the sacrifices and none

"of the gains fall to the authors ; it must be a war strictly defensive—to defend not a wrong, but a right; to rescue some weak victim from "a manifest oppressor. * * It must be a war of which the necessity is inevitable, the issue certain, and the good results immensely "preponderating."

With these conditions strictly observed, Mr. Harrison professes to believe that war would virtually be at an end.

In a teacher affecting to give practical advice on the conduct of politics, this strikes us as the most remarkable thing we ever read. We wish the Positivist had accompanied it with an explanatory commentary. We should so much like to know to what social condition it would be applicable. What is the precise *degree* of value, which entitles the possessor to be considered "a valuable element of the race?" Who is to apply such a test when ascertained? What constitutes a cancer in political society? Is the Pope of Rome one, and who is to be the final judge whether he is or not? A war is generally supposed to be a contest for supremacy between *two* parties, inevitably productive of bloodshed and misery to both combatants ; but Mr. Harrison appears to be possessed by a notion that war—if it be a just one—may be carried on under the conditions of a massacre and *all* the sacrifices made to fall upon the people who are in the wrong. The last paragraph completes our bewilderment. "A war of which the necessity is inevitable and the issue certain." Well, all wars are inevitable so soon as the passions of opposing nations are kindled to fighting point. On this point, therefore, the great Positivist gives us very little help. But "a war the issue of which is certain." As the issue of war can never by any possibility be predicted with certainty, this condition, if obeyed, would certainly put an end to all fighting, but in that case what would become of the political cancers? They, we suppose, would be permitted to flourish, and destroy at their will "valuable elements of the race," and living organs of our civilization. Certainly after reading such a passage, we cannot wonder at the complaint of the *Edinburgh Reviewer*, of whom the Positivist makes mention. "The morality," says the critic, "to which these writers would subject the international relations of mankind is spurious and fantastical. Their knowledge of history is superficial and distorted ; and their schemes for the regeneration of political society are governed by sentimental predilections paradoxical even to absurdity."

R. D. OSBORN.

ANCIENT PAGAN AND MODERN CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM *exposed and explained*. By Thomas Inman, M.D., (London,) Physician to the Royal Infirmary, Liverpool, &c. &c. &c. Printed for the Author. 1869.

THIS little book is explained by the author to be a sort of epitome of a larger work which we have not seen, entitled

Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names. It consists of a series of plates, with explanatory remarks, prefaced by an Introduction, in which the writer, after apologising for venturing to enquire into the meaning of symbols at all, somewhat vaguely enunciates the proposition that the symbolism of all religions, Christianity included, is constructed on one and the same basis, and that of the most gross and indelicate description.

That comparative symbolism must occupy an important chapter in the history of religions, analogous to the position occupied by comparative philology in the study of ethnology, is, we think, true; and every honest endeavour to throw light on so abstruse a subject must be right welcome to a thinking and enquiring mind. But it is very desirable that those who venture to treat of such topics, should make use of language as clear and precise as possible. There ought to be no doubt whatever of such an author's meaning. His positions and arguments ought to be set forth with mathematical exactness.

This is not the case in the book before us. Dr. Inman is far from being either clear or precise. He writes vaguely of "allegations and accusations against the doctrines of Christianity," of "the current Heathendom which has assumed the garb of Christianity," of "the heathen elements in the Christian religion;" but we never seem to be brought face to face with these 'allegations' or 'heathen elements,' or are even told what they are. The author, doubtless, labours under a disadvantage in being judged by a work which is confessedly but a mere epitome of his more elaborate argument, but the charge of vagueness is not made without due consideration, and on a subject like this such a charge is unpardonable.

If Dr. Inman means no more than that Christianity has borrowed certain symbols from heathendom, of undoubtedly impure origin, few persons probably will be found to differ from him. It is nearly forty centuries since the Israelites spoiled the Egyptians, and a similar process of spoliation has been going on from time to time ever since. Every new creed takes something over from its predecessor; its adaptability to do this is often a mark of its vitality. And if a symbol is beautiful and appeals to the æsthetic sense, it is after all of no great importance how gross and material may have been its origin. If Dr. Inman is to be trusted, however, we ought to abolish every ornament of any kind in our churches; and even, if we worshipped in an empty oblong barn, he would somehow or other discover that we were ignorantly doing homage to the Three *plus One*—nay, he might possibly find that the barn had a door, with perhaps a key-hole in it.

But we must give Dr. Inman credit for meaning more than this, though it is a pity it is not more definitely expressed. One of

his positions would seem to be that the worship of the Virgin Mary in Roman Catholic countries is closely allied to the *cultus* of pagan goddesses; and we think he is probably correct in tracing, as he does, many of those external emblems on which ritualists lay such stress, such as the mitre, the alb and the chasuble, to a former use in the worship of Venus and the adoration of woman. But there are other symbols, in regard to which Dr. Inman's opinions seem to be veiled in mystery. If Dr. Inman, for instance, means to insinuate that the Christian reverence for the cross is derived from or founded on a pagan symbolism, we have no hesitation whatever in saying that Dr. Inman is wrong. The Christian reverence for the cross simply rests on the historical fact that Christ suffered death by crucifixion—a fact which is as capable of historical proof as that Charles I was beheaded or that Napoleon was banished to St. Helena. Crucifixion, we know, was one of the most degraded forms of Roman punishment; but Dr. Inman adduces no evidence to show that the cause of this was in any way connected with phallic symbolism. The two plates on pp. 42, 43 (figs. 90 and 92), are admittedly not authenticated, and ought not therefore to have appeared in the book at all. Their admission implies a bias in the mind of the writer which is not consistent with scientific impartiality.

We fully grant that there is much in this book that is interesting and instructive; there is also much that is, to say the least, far-fetched. So long as Euclid's axiom remains true, that two straight lines cannot enclose a space, so long will it be possible to reduce every form to a unit or triad, or a combination of both. There are very few things in the world, in fact, to which, on Dr. Inman's principles, an indelicate significance could not be made to attach. But such a pursuit, however simple it may be, is not edifying. When a man gets into the habit of regarding everything he sees from a phallic point of view, he deprives himself of much pure pleasure, and does his best to degrade his soul to the level of the beasts that perish.

A HANDBOOK OF HINDU MYTHOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY, *with some Biographical Notices*. By Rev. W. Munro Taylor. Second Edition. Madras: Higginbotham and Co. 1870.

A REALLY good Classical Dictionary for India is a great *desideratum*, and such a work, if well executed, ought to command a ready sale. It is said that the subject has already engaged the attention of Mr. Garrett, the Director of Public Instruction in Mysore. Mr. Garrett's qualifications for the task are unknown to us, but there can be no doubt that his official position must afford him facilities and opportunities which are not accessible to all.

Meanwhile we are glad to see a second edition of the little book now before us, which, in the absence of a more complete work on the subject, we can safely recommend as a useful manual of reference. Not that the book is faultless; though, so far as a cursory inspection has enabled us to judge, the information it contains appears to be generally accurate. We are unable, however, to subscribe to all the author's quaint notions in regard to the connection between Hindu and Hebraic mythology. Whether Cain married his sister or his niece, is of very little importance, and Hindu mythology can never afford satisfactory proof on the point. Lamech may be "the same as *Casyapa*," and it is quite "possible that a daughter of Shem (grand-daughter of Vaivasvata or Noah) married Cush, the son of Ham, and apostatized from the religion of her ancestors"; but such speculations hardly find their proper place in what is intended to be a small handbook of *fact*, especially considering that much useful information, as it is said, has had to be omitted for want of space. The tabular view appended to the chronological note (p. xiv) is, as it stands, wholly unintelligible, and should be more fully explained in the next edition. We should also recommend the publisher to omit the preface to the first edition, which is simple twaddle, and to adopt a more scientific system of spelling. The indiscriminate use of 'c' and 'k' to express the Sanskrit soft guttural is particularly uncouth and confusing. *Curucshetram* (sic), for instance, is explained as "the place of the *Curus*;" but for this latter word we are referred to *Kauras*. The use of 'c' in such words has long been abolished by universal consent, and Messrs. Higginbotham would do well to acquiesce in this decision.

The *Handbook* consists of 150 pp. only, and as its price is fixed within the compass of the slenderest purse, we trust that its enterprising publishers will not be allowed to suffer by the speculation.

INDIAN BALLADS AND OTHER POEMS; By William Waterfield.
London: Smith Elder & Co. 1868.

THE prime defect of the English character is an overwhelming preponderance of what they term their "practical tendencies." It is on the score of these practical tendencies that we deem ourselves superior to such benighted nations as the French, Italians, Spanish and others, who cannot discover their *summum bonum* in the accumulation of money and unlimited freedom of competition. It is, moreover, these practical tendencies, and the pride which he takes in them, which have made the Englishman so perfectly obnoxious to all kingdoms and people under the sun. This also the Englishman interprets as a testimony to his superior merit—the result of hopeless envy, and accepts with a complacent consciousness of being thoroughly

entitled to it. It is, lastly, in virtue of his eminently practical turn of mind that the Englishman believes himself to be working out the regeneration of India.

Except in his own estimation, however, there is hardly a human being so potent for mischief, and so utterly good for nothing as your "practical man." In society he passes among his friends like the hot wind of the desert, and all grace and wit, humour, poetry, beauty and elegance—things like the flowers of the earth, of no practical value—wither away at his approach. In politics the practical man considers the civilization of a country can be affected exclusively by roads, railways and large public works, quite independently of the souls of men. Had England been inhabited by practical men only, she would long ago have degenerated into a nation of money-getters, incapable of one lofty thought or one heroic action.

No man, of course, is solely and purely a practical man. He has his weaknesses, and occasional deviations from the straight onward road. But in this country the practical man is almost all-powerful, and there is no fact in the world more certain than this, that we are not achieving the regeneration of this country—if by regeneration we mean, to develop the latent powers of the mind and inform it with new and loftier principles of conduct. No one in the least acquainted with the past history of India, can doubt that our rule has a precisely opposite effect. This country did in times past produce soldiers and statesmen in abundance, but she cannot produce them now. Wherever we penetrate, the powers of her children seem to droop and die, and all gradations of intellect to sink to a dead level of mediocrity. We give them no opportunity of distinction and afford them no examples of greatness, but with the spectacle of a continent perishing as it were by slow inward decay before our eyes, we enshroud ourselves in self-conceit, and declare we are achieving a mighty work in the land.

This insensibility springs directly from that absence of culture which as practical men we presume to undervalue. We cannot place ourselves *en rapport* with the people we pretend to guide and educate, because hard and mechanical views of life have killed the imagination and blighted the finer and unselfish parts of our nature. We obstinately persist in believing that the Asiatic can live by bread alone, and be made into a new man exclusively through the help of railways, electric telegraphs, and other external applications, forgetting or being unaware that these things alone cannot nourish national life or greatness of character. Deprive England of her historic past, and all the wealth in the world could not make the human beings settled upon her shores into a great and progressive nation. The soul of man needs a diet of its own—needs it most of all in countries such as India, where the past has no longer

any organic connection with the present and the future. And those men only will feel this keenly who make intellectual pursuits the main business of their lives, and understand the old prophetic assertion that the soul of a man—the energies and capacities, that is, which reside within him—is more precious than the golden wedge of Ophir.

Placing then this extreme value upon culture as an essential element in the education of those who would govern aright, it is our duty, as well as our pleasure, to welcome with delight any manifestation of it among the members of the Indian Civil Service. On this account we take shame to ourselves that Mr. Waterfield's Indian Ballads have never received in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* that recognition which their merits deserve.

The volume bears everywhere the impress of a cultivated mind, and one also peculiarly open to the tender and the beautiful in man or nature. The poems fall under three heads—Indian Ballads, Miscellaneous Ballads, and Album Verses. Those in the first division are the best as well as the most important, and to these we shall confine our observations. Goethe has remarked that "what remains of the poet, when translated into prose, is the pure perfect substance." The truth of this dictum is questionable, and certain it is that there is a fascination in the effort to represent the thoughts of a foreign poet in a verse translation which no student of literature can altogether escape. Almost every Oriental scholar has endeavoured to re-embody in an English form the spirit of the Eastern Muse. In the case of Sanskrit poems, we hold that the method pursued by Mr. Griffith of Benares, and, as a general rule, by Mr. Waterfield, is the true one—not to follow too closely the words of the original, but to attempt to transfuse into the English version whatever in the foreign poems is distinctively "human catholic." The difficulty of Anglicising Sanskrit poetry may be easily illustrated by a reference to Mr. Waterfield's ballads. At page 57, we find a translation of *The Lamentation of Aja from the Raghuvansa*. We have taken the trouble to compare this with the original, and we can safely assert that it is both a faithful and an elegant translation. And yet we cannot doubt that few Englishmen would appreciate the tenderness of feeling which is expressed in the allusion to the chakravaka, and the koil or Indian cuckoo, in these two stanzas:—

"The chakravaka soon
Rejoins his mate; the moon
Brings joy once more to night:
These wait and trust, but I
Look vainly to the sky,

Which mocks my hopes with winds that wave thy ringlets light.

"Thy voice the koils show,
Thy timid glance the doe,
To lighten my distress ;
The swans thy stately pace,
The wind-waved boughs thy grace ;

But these are not my love, and I am comfortless."

The reason of this is obvious enough. The chakravaka and the koil excite no emotion in the mind of an English reader. There are no associations of beauty or delight which cling to the unfamiliar sounds. All poetry which has any local colouring must of necessity lose in force when it appeals to those who have never known or experienced those local peculiarities. The following stanzas from one of Wordsworth's poems will serve to show the imaginative splendour which may be drawn from the commonest natural objects when they are familiar to us.

"She shall be sportive as the fawn,
That wild with glee across the lawn
Or up the mountain springs ;
And her's shall be the breathing balm,
And her's the silence and the calm,
Of mute insensate things.

"The stars of midnight shall be dear
To her ; and she shall lean her ear
In many a secret place ;
Where rivulets dance their wayward round,
And beauty born of murmuring sound
Shall pass into her face."

That Mr. Waterfield does not lack the power to transpose into his verse the spirit of their originals, will be apparent to any one who compares his translation from Goeth (p. 229) with the German—an imitation, perhaps unconsciously, of Alcmæon's beautiful fragment. We place the German and Mr. Waterfield's version side by side.

Ueber allen Griefeln	On every mountain brow
Ist Ruh,	Is rest ;
In allen Wipfeln	Scarce on the woodland crest
Spürest du.	Hearst thou
Kaum einen Hauch ;	Faint whispering ;
Die Vögelein schweigen in	The birds are all hushed on
Walde,	the tree,
Warte nur, balde	Wait ; time will bring
Ruhest du auch.	Rest even for thee.

No one could wish for a more exact version than this, and yet the English lines are perfectly natural and easy, and free from all odour of the lamp. It is curious to observe the resemblance

between the Greek and the German poet. In the former, the modern introspective element, the conception of the subtle sympathy between man and nature is altogether wanting. But the exterior colouring of the picture is the same in both cases.

Mr. Waterfield, however, as we have already remarked, has produced Indian ballads rather than translations, and as such they should be judged. Their prevailing characteristics, are an extreme sweetness and ease of versification, combined with a keen and delicate eye for the beauties of nature. Their defect is an absence of fire and passion, which comes out in such poems as "Rukmini," where the verse runs with too quiet and tranquil a flow properly to depict the tumult of hope and fear, desire and despair, which might be supposed to agitate the heroine. The wild legend of the churning of the ocean is very effectively rendered. The story of the Symantak jewel comes from the Vishnu Purana. It is, as Mr. Waterfield remarks, particularly interesting, as exhibiting Krishna not as a god but as a mere mortal hero. Indeed he seems to have held among the *Yādavas* the position of a constitutional monarch, controlled by checks rude but effective.

The *Moral of History* is another fine ballad, finer, we suspect, in Mr. Waterfield's version than in the original. The gem, however, of the collection, at least in our judgment, is the *Song of Kalindi*, a very sweet and at the same time spirited poem, with some verses from which we will bring our notice to a conclusion :—

"The fresh wind blows from northern snows ;

The nights are dank with dew ;

A mound of fire the Simal glows ;

The young rice shoots anew ;

In morning's cool from reedy pool

Up springs the whistling crane ;

The wild fowl fly through sunset sky ;

The sweet juice fills the cane.

• Come, Krishna ! from the tyrant proud

How long shall virtue flee ?

The lightning loves the evening cloud,

And I love thee !

" Low from the brink the waters shrink ;

The deer all snuff for rain ;

The panting cattle search for drink

Cracked glebe and dusty plain ;

The whirlwind, like a furnace blast,

Sweeps clouds of darkening sand ;

The forest flames ; the beasts aghast

• Plunge huddling from the land.

Come, Krishna ! come, beloved one !
 Descend and comfort me :
 The lotus loves the summer sun,
 And I love thee.

"The skies are bright with cloudlets light,
 Like silver shells that float ;
 The stars and moon loom large by night ;
 The lilies launch their boat ;
 Fair laughs the plain with ripened grain ;
 With birds resounds the brake :
 Along the sand white egrets stand ;
 The wild fowl fill the lake.
 Come, Krishna ! let thy servants soon
 Thy perfect beauty see :
 The water lily loves the moon,
 And I love thee.

"The morning mist lies close and still ;
 The hoarfrost gems the lea ;
 The dew falls chill ; the wind blows shrill ;
 The leaves have left the tree ;
 The crops are gone ; the fields are bare ;
 The deer pass grazing by ;
 And plaintive through the twilight air
 Is heard the curlew's cry.
 Come Krishna ! come my lord, my own !
 From prison set me free :
 The chakravaki pines, alone,
 As I for thee."

We would gladly, had we space, have criticised these poems at greater length. Both the miscellaneous ballads, and the Album verses are marked by passages full of a certain sweet and pensive grace or of delicate delineation of natural scenery which richly rewards the labour of perusal. But the great service which books of this character perform for the thoughtful reader, is to bring before him the poetic and imaginative side of the Indian character, without some understanding of which it is absurd to suppose that we can ever rear up a civilization in the country which, when our support is withdrawn, will continue to grow by its own inherent vitality. Mr. Waterfield is at present the holder of an appointment of great trust, but we earnestly hope that his official duties have not alienated him from the service of the muse. The years that bring the philosophic mind, could hardly fail to add to his verse also a deeper tone of thought and greater robustness of expression. Mr. Waterfield's verse, at present, flows along with almost too even a movement ; and these elements, like rocks in the bed of a running,

brook, would serve to break up and diversify the current of the melody. Should he ever appear again as an author, we can at least assure him of a cordial welcome from the *Calcutta Review*.

THE GAZETTEER OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA. Edited by Charles Grant, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. Second Edition. Nágpúr. 1870.

WE have received a copy of the *Central Provinces Gazetteer* edited by Charles Grant, of the Bengal Civil Service, at the time when he was Secretary to the Chief Commissioner. It is the foremost of that series of Gazetteers which are to illumine the depths and dark interiors of our least known districts, to disinter the stores of valuable information which now lie buried in strata of official records, and to arrange, sift, expand or condense, all this raw material for convenient use. Finally, these rough-hewn Gazetteers are themselves to be shaped off and melted down into an Imperial Gazetteer, or Geographical Dictionary, for all India.

It is known, we believe, that the idea of these Gazetteers originally germinated at Nagpur, where a first edition of the work which we are now noticing, was produced in 1867 under the auspices of Sir Richard Temple. The present volume is, then, a second edition, improved and enlarged to an extent that can be measured only by those who have seen the first; the contents have been arranged alphabetically for the whole book, and have been copiously indexed, while from the editor's own hand we have a preface and a very complete introduction. To this introduction our present notice must be confined, though we hope before long to be able to review the whole work; but Mr. Grant's sketch contains so comprehensive and so masterly a survey of the whole area traversed, or mapped out in detail, by the writers for each district, that we have no difficulty in dealing with his article separately and exclusively. In fact, the introduction is itself just such a review of the Gazetteer as might be written by an able man thoroughly conversant with every department of the subject to be handled. And the practice of prefixing to the main edifice a porch of this kind is much to be approved, both for ornament and utility. A Gazetteer is (or should be) meant to serve two classes of readers, those who desire to obtain some general knowledge and thoroughly trustworthy information regarding the country, and those who take it as a book of occasional reference or a travelling guide. The first class will go no further than the porch. For them Mr. Grant has restored the continuity of narrative and compendious synopsis of what is known on any topic, which have been unavoidably broken up and scattered throughout the main body of the work by the exigencies of district limits. For them he

takes his stand, as it were, upon an exceeding high mountain whence he can show them all his nineteen provinces, and the glory thereof. And we are bound to say that Mr. Grant's porch is built in excellent style. He had an immense variety of tolerably familiar subjects to touch upon, with space at his discretion; so in these days of fine writing and of mammoth reports, which only an antediluvian can read through, it is a pleasure to come upon an official person whose concise artistic language, tinged here and there only with picturesque colour, indicates that the writer is plainly keeping within his powers, both as to the substance and style of his composition.

The introduction itself occupies 157 pages. The scenery and physical geography of this vast territory are described in their leading features; to many dwellers in Bengal it may be news that the whole country is characterized by rapid and constant variety of form and level, by alternate contrasts of hill and valley, wood and river, cultivation and natural vegetation. Here is a bit of description which may refresh and inspirit the untravelled Anglo-Indian who believes that India is one illimitable dusty plain, dotted by white bungalows and tombstones.

'In the pleasant winter months the eye may range over miles of green corn land, only broken by black ridges or dark twisting footpaths. The horizon is bounded here and there by hill ranges, which seem to rise abruptly from the plain, but on coming nearer to them, the heavy green of their slopes is found to be divided from the softer hues of the young wheat by broad belts of gravelly soil—here carpeted with short sward and studded with noble trees—there uncovered and contrasting their brown red tints with the deep black of the valley lands. The epithet which occurs to every English describer in writing of these border lands is "park-like." (Introd., pp. xvii-xviii.)

The geology of the provinces is sketched by the Superintendent of the Geological Survey.

Mr. Grant devotes many pages to the early history of these wild barbarian regions; and as no one really knows anything about what happened before the 18th century in Gondwarra, in the Upper Nerbudda valley, or in the remote inaccessible districts to the far east and south-east of Nagpur, we may be thankful to the editor for using mercifully so magnificent an opportunity for setting up and pulling down kingdoms and ordering the course of events. "All that can be really ascertained," says Mr. Grant, "is, that in the fifth century a race of foreign (Yavana) origin ruled from the Sâtpûra plateau, and that between the tenth and thirteenth centuries the country round Jabâlpûr was governed by princes of one of the most distinguished lunar Rajput races, while a territory south of the Sâtpûras was held by the fire-descended Pramâra princes of Mâlwa."

(p. lviii.) However, we learn also that the well-known Hai Hai Bani dynasty was established in the 2nd century A.D. about Chatisgurh and the sources of the Nerbudda; and that the Chanda dynasty of Gonds probably rose to power as early as the tenth or eleventh century. (p. lviii.) It cannot be denied, although Mr. Grant's modesty may compel him to make light of such feats, that these are notable contributions to our knowledge of pre-historic times. The scantiness of the materials at his disposal makes the result only more admirable.

Since Dr. W. W. Hunter first uplifted his voice as the *vates sacer* of the despised non-Aryan, perhaps nothing more interesting or curious has been written on this now fashionable topic than Mr. Grant's account of the rise and fall of the Gond and Gauli dynasties within the period of 'history proper' (that is, from the 16th century), and his description of the various aboriginal tribes which still, as distinct races, inhabit these provinces. For particulars we must refer inquirers to the work itself, but the valuable ethnological researches therein recorded have clearly been made just in time. "Civilization," observes Mr. Grant, "is the most fatal of all influences to the semi-savage." In a few years all his aboriginal beliefs and customs, his tribal organization, his wandering habits, and other characteristics of a remote social stage, which have been fortuitously preserved for us by the hermetical sealing of these land-locked regions until the fullness of our own time—all these things will have dissolved and faded away like the baseless fabric of a dream. The rapid and unprecedented development, illumination, and material improvement of the Central Provinces which are set forth throughout Mr. Grant's last chapter, in terms which carefully avoid all exaggeration or self-complacent administrative triumph, are just the causes and influences before which the whole old order of society must change and give way. No one, of course, will regret these changes, but we must all be glad that the last glimpse of things that we shall never see again, has been accorded to men who could see, appreciate, and describe. And towards the close of his Introduction, Mr. Grant emerges from the dim penumbra, through which we have been hazily following his guidance, and admiring the lines of aboriginal princes who pass before us like Banquo's posterity. He shakes off the dust of ages, shuts up his ethnical microscope, lays aside his most able and amusing analysis of non-Aryan creeds and customs, and at one stride lands us in the 19th century under Sir R. Temple's administration. Those who have been really so embittered by the smart of an injudicious income-tax as to believe that the author of their woe must have been incompetent and disingenuous in all his ways, should read Mr. Grant's description of the present state of the Central Provinces, and of the measures which have brought it up to its actual form. So many men fail, even in Indian professions,

that critics on administration are as plentiful here as they are in England on literature and art. But hard energetic work must leave its marks, and these marks cannot be rubbed out by adverse assertion. These provinces, observes Mr. Grant, were comparatively unknown and unexplored, until "in 1861 this central tract of highland and valley, with its unknown history, its unsuspected resources, and its strange world of wild tribes, became a separate division of British India" under a Chief Commissioner.

Certainly no executive reform of territorial jurisdiction was ever better timed than this constitution of the Central Provinces by Lord Canning; for though they are essentially diverse in all physical and national characteristics, the whole country was then alike in one respect, that it urgently needed a strong central Government. It did get this need supplied, and just at an epoch when, as Mr. Grant writes, the Provinces came under the influence of stimulating agencies which would have "disturbed the sleep of barbarism itself." For the men who have steered and served in the administration during the decade which has now almost passed since that day, it is only contended that they knew how to take advantage of the situation. And the concluding passages of this introduction contrasting now with then, the old lamps with the new, antique torpidity with modern stir, former darkness and stagnation with the recent "rush of light and air," high and steady prices with alternate famines and surfeits of grain, contented and comatose ignorance with the excitements of education—form a really eloquent peroration to a remarkably vigorous and well written State paper.

MEMOIR OF DWARKANATH TAGORE. By Kissory Chand Mittra. Originally read at the 27th Hare Anniversary Meeting, held at the Town Hall on the 1st June 1870. Revised and Enlarged. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1870.

KISSORY Chand Mittra has done good service to his country by the memoirs which he has published from time to time (some of them in this *Review*) of the more prominent members of Bengal society during the past few years. The last half-century has witnessed extraordinary progress in Bengal, and history demands that the exertions of the men to whom the present state of things is due, and the part which each took in bringing it about, shall be faithfully chronicled for the edification of future ages. And our chronicler is by no means unequal to the task before him. His labour is obviously a labour of love. Himself belonging to the most advanced section of Hindu society, and gifted with a marvellous command of the English language, he is well able to depict in glowing colours the obligations which the present generation lie under to those early pioneers in the

cause of enlightenment and progress. Indeed, if they have a fault, it is that his portraits are sometimes overdrawn. His memoirs here and there (particularly in the description of Dwarkanath's first voyage to England) smack of the Boswellian flavour. Their subjects are all heroes, though of course heroes of the Bengali type.

And Dwarkanath Tagore *was* a hero in a sense, as every man is who stands in the van of his countrymen, encouraging progress and liberality of thought, and struggling to set his nation free from the trammels which enthrall it. Such men's lives deserve to be handed down to posterity as those who have done good in their generation—men who have not wasted the talents or thrown away the opportunities God has given them, but who have always been ready to help onward to the best of their ability the advancing civilization of the age. Dwarkanath Tagore's wealth and social position enabled him to do much for his countrymen which it is not in the power of every man to effect; and it redounds greatly to his honour that he made such excellent use of the advantages which he possessed. "To whom much is given, of them shall much be required again." But on the other hand we must not lose sight of the fact that in periods of social revolution such as is now going on in Bengal, the pioneers of reform have often nothing to win and everything to lose. Rammohun Roy, for instance, staked his all, and may be said to have lost, for it is pretty certain that he was not fully appreciated by his countrymen until some years after his death. Dwarkanath Tagore was more fortunate, inasmuch as he lived in a later and more enlightened day. But it is at least singular that these two men, whose names are perhaps the greatest in modern Bengal history, should be destined to leave their bones in that country, the worth of whose civilization they had both learnt to value and respect. It may be a fanciful conceit altogether on our part, but do not these men, sacrificing their lives for what was to them their life's object, dimly shadow forth to us its ultimate fulfilment—the more complete fusion of the two races in morals, in religion, in civilization, whether in India or in England, in life or in death?

We have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following books:—

GAZETTEER FOR THE HAIDERABAD ASSIGNED DISTRICTS, COMMONLY CALLED BERAR. 1870. Edited by A. C. Lyall, Commissioner of West Berar. Bombay: 1870.

THE HINDU LAW: *being a treatise on the law administered exclusively to Hindus by the British Courts in India.* Tagore

Law Lectures—1870. By Herbert Cowell, Esq., Barrister-at-Law and Tagore Law Professor. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. 1870.

[We hope to be able to present our readers with a complete notice of these two important works in an early issue.]

THE RAJAS OF THE PANJAB, *being the history of the principal States in the Panjab, and their political relations with the British Government.* By Lepel H. Griffin, B.C.S., Under-Secretary to the Government of the Panjab; Author of "the Panjab Chiefs;" "the Law of Inheritance to Chiefships." Lahore. 1870.

[We have also been promised a full critique of this work for an early number.]

THE RAMAYAN OF VALMIKI, *translated into English verse.* By Ralph T. H. Griffith, M.A., Principal of Benares College, Vol. II. London : Trübner & Co. Benares : E. J. Lazarus & Co. 1871.

[The present volume contains a continuation of Book II of the *Rāmāyan*.]

The Indian Annals of Medical Science. No. xxvii. Calcutta. Barham, Hill, & Co., 1870.

The Calcutta Journal of Medicine. Vol. III., January to June 1870. Calcutta. 1870.

We have also to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of the following Government publications:—

Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India with Foreign Countries, and of the coasting Trade between the several Presidencies, in the year ending 31st March 1869; together with Miscellaneous Statistics relating to the Foreign Trade of British India from various periods to 1868-69. Calcutta : Office of Superintendent of Government Printing : 1870.

Report of the Meteorological Reporter to the Government of Bengal. Meteorological Abstract for the year 1869. By Henry F. Blanford, Meteorological Reporter. Calcutta : 1870.

Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, for the year 1869-70; with four Appendices. By David B. Smith, M.D., Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, Calcutta : 1870. [We are glad to observe that this report has been much condensed this year.]

General Report on the Lunatic Asylums, Vaccination, and Dispensaries in the Bengal Presidency, 1868. Compiled by Surgeon-Major J. T. C. Ross, F.R.C.S., Secretary to the Inspector-General of Hospitals, Indian Medical Department, Calcutta. Office of Superintendent of Government Printing : 1870.

Ditto ditto, No. 2, for 1869; with Appendices and a Map.

[We would draw special attention to these Appendices. The first is a report on Inoculation as it at present exists in the Presidency of Bengal,—a report which cannot fail to be of great value and interest

in connection with Dr. Charles's proposal to regulate Inoculation where it cannot be suppressed. The second appendix is a masterly report on the medico-legal returns received from the Civil Surgeons in the Bengal Presidency during the year 1868 and 1869, by Assistant-Surgeon K. McLeod, M.D., Bengal Army. The subject matter of this report has already been fully treated in the foregoing pages, and it only remains, therefore, to say that we entirely concur with the Inspector-General of Hospitals, that, "great credit is due to Dr. McLeod for the labour, thought and intelligence he has brought to bear upon the subject." The third appendix is a medical and sanitary report on the Settlement of Port Blair, Andamans, for the year 1869, by Surgeon W.H. Rean, M.D., Madras Army.

Report on the Administration of the Customs Department in the Bengal Presidency, for the year 1869-70. Calcutta: 1870.

Report on the Revenue Survey Operations of the Lower Provinces, from 1st October 1868 to 30th September 1869. Calcutta: 1870.

Progress Report of Forest Administration in Bengal for the year 1869-70. Calcutta: 1870.

Report on Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies, for the year 1869-70, by Captain W. R. M. Holroyd, B.S.C., Director of Public Instruction, Panjab. Lahore: 1870.

Report on the Sanitary Administration of the Panjab, 1869. By A. C. C. De Renzy, Sanitary Commissioner. Lahore: 1870.

Statement showing estimated extent of Cotton Cultivation in the Panjab during the season of 186-970.

Report on the working of the Income Tax Acts IX of 1869, and XXIII of 1869 in the Panjab, for the year 1869-70.

Selections from the Records of the Government of the Panjab and its Dependencies. New Series. No. VIII. *Administration Reports of the Chumba and Bhawalpore States for 1869.* Lahore: 1870.

Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Panjab and its Dependencies during the year 1869, Lahore: 1870.

Report of the Officiating Inspector-General of Dispensaries, Panjab, for 1869. By R. Gray, Esq. Lahore: 1870.

Annual Report on Vaccine Operations in the Panjab for the year 1869. By A. M. Garden, M.D., Superintendent-General of Vaccination, Panjab. Lahore: 1870.

Report of the Officiating Inspector-General of Prisons, Panjab, for 1869. By R. Gray, Esq. Lahore, 1870.

Report on the administration of the Registration Department, Panjab, for the year 1869-70.

Report on the Famine in the Panjab during 1869-70. By Lepel Griffin, Esq., Secretary, Central Relief Committee, Panjab. Lahore: 1870.

Report on the Administration of the Panjab and its Dependencies, for the year 1869-70. Lahore: 1870.

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40	44	12	0	22	6	0	47	15	4	23	15	8	30	57	0	46	8	40	0	62	8	54	0	49	0
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